

MURDER IN NATAL 1992 - 1993

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF RATES AND
PATTERNS

JAMES DOUGLAS SCOTT THOMSON

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Social Science in the Department of Sociology,
University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.

June 1994

DECLARATION

Except where otherwise specified in the
text, this dissertation is my own work.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Thomson".

James Douglas Scott Thomson

April 1994

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to Professor Peter Stopforth for providing assistance and encouragement in the supervision of this dissertation

Major Dennis Moon for providing access to data and information on murder in Natal.

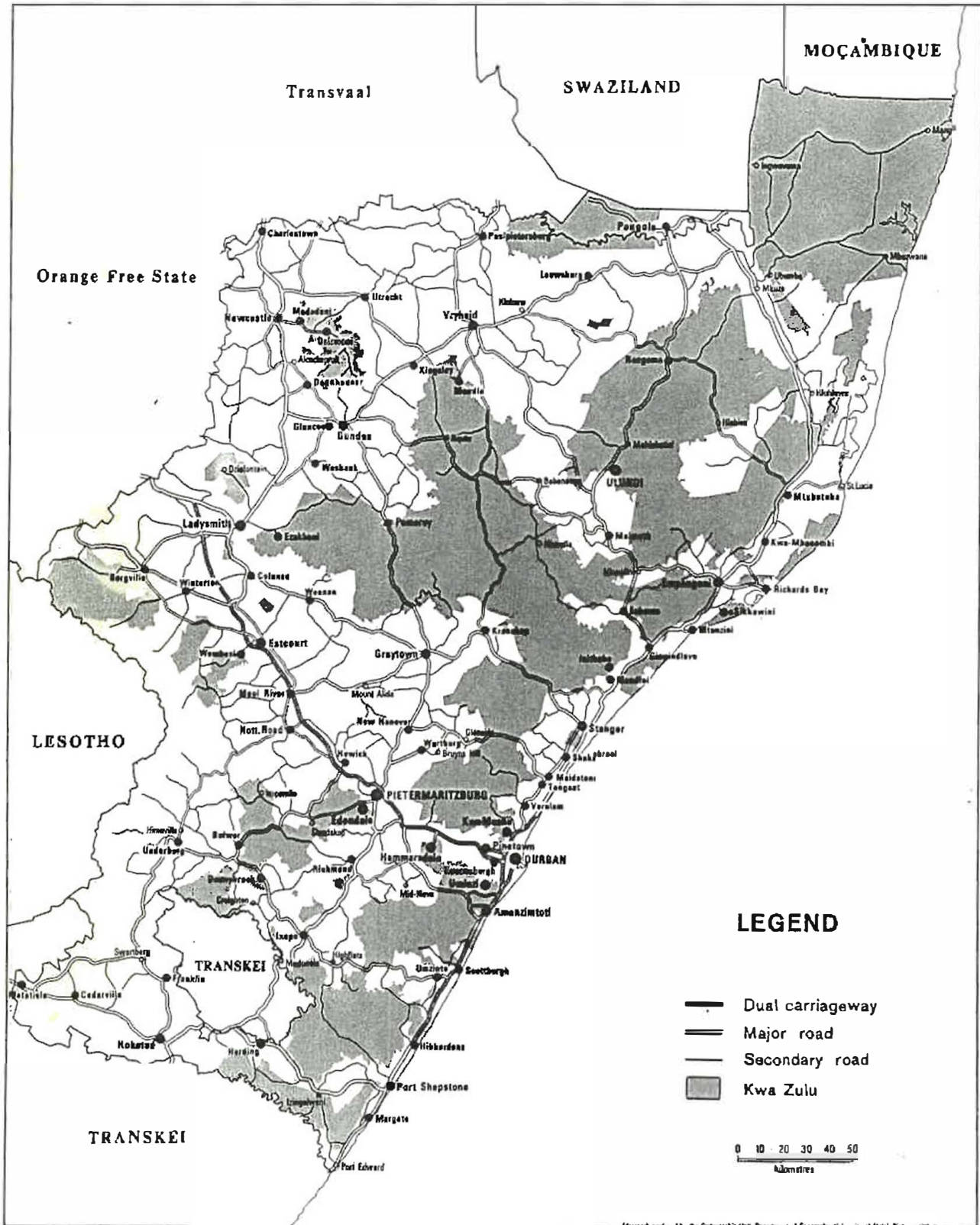
Joan Birch, Suzette Mullins and Philippa Huntly for encouragement and assistance with translation of documents, spelling errors and proof reading.

My parents for personal encouragement and financial assistance.

CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE NUMBER</u>
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	9
3. STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY	13
4. ADDITIONAL FACTORS FOR MURDER - ALCOHOL USE AND FIREARM OWNERSHIP	38
5. DATA COLLECTION	46
6. DATA ANALYSIS : NATAL 1992-1993	51
7. AGE, SEX AND OCCUPATION OF WHITE VICTIMS IN SOUTH AFRICA 1983-1990	97
8. CONCLUSION	111
9. BIBLIOGRAPHY	122

NATAL REGION AND KWAZULU



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"Homicide is the killing of a human being. It may consist in the killing of one's self (suicide) or of another (murder or culpable homicide)."¹ For the purposes of this study suicides will not be considered as part of the data, only the killing of one or more persons by another or others will be considered. The terms "murder" and "homicide" will be used to designate murder.

Murder is the end result and also part of the process of a series of interrelating social, political, economic, psychological and geographic factors. Each of which is important in the creation of a high or low risk environment for homicides or violence to occur.

The study of homicide is full of difficulties and pitfalls. The initial problem is defining what homicide is. The field is wide and easily given to manipulation in the actual recording and interpretation of the events.

The restrictions placed upon research by availability of statistics and differences in the statistics between the police, Department of Health, law courts and other involved parties is

¹Burchell J. and Milton J., 1991, pg 410

problematic and open to interpretation and manipulation by individual researchers.

For general crime the police records demonstrate not only the level of crime but also the efficiency of their investigations, which is the more accurate determinant of the resulting figures is difficult to determine.

The advantage of studying homicide is the relatively high rate of success in arrests of the aggressor.² Homicide leaves a victim, who in most cases is identified. The nature of the victim - aggressor relationship is also important in the high rate of arrest rate. With most homicides, excluding robbery-homicide, the victim and aggressor are either related or acquainted.

The question arises of how many assaults occur which could easily lead to a homicide occurring, but due to chance, swift medical action, or some other fortuitous event does not result in a death ?

The homicide itself is not a separate entity, but closely related to other crimes of violence. In order to fully understand the

²The term "aggressor" will be used in this work to signify the murderer. The term is less loaded than other terms such as "accused", "killer" or "murderer" which depend on more legal definitions than sociological ones. Likewise the term "victim" will be used to designate the person who is murdered or killed.

mechanisms behind homicide, one must realise the route that is taken by both victim and aggressor. One must account not only for homicide rates, but also for those of assault, public violence and other crimes of violence. The gap between these is usually small, and to limit a study just to one single result is not to fully comprehend the wider picture.

Homicide and other crimes of violence are not the sole result of the aggressor, the victim too plays a role. Each has their part in the creation of a high or low risk environment for violence to occur. The actions, behaviour and assumptions made by the individual will be integral in the determination of whether or not they have a high or low risk of becoming a victim of violence.

The central problem in South Africa is the accuracy of the data that is available. In the Natal region there are two separate police forces - the South African Police (S.A.P.) and the Kwa-Zulu Police (K.Z.P.). All crimes that occur in Kwa-Zulu are investigated by the K.Z.P., the S.A.P. investigates only those that occur in the rest of the province. There is very little sharing of information between the two forces, and thus the crime committed in Kwa-Zulu is effectively "lost" to the S.A.P.³

³Interview with Major D. Moon, Centre for the Analysis and Interpretation of Crime Information (C.A.I.C.I.), Durban, 1994

The political situation has played a very important part in the nature of homicides and violence in South Africa. Along with the economic and social deprivation that was caused by the policies of apartheid, there is a general mistrust of the S.A.P. and other government institutions by the black population. Violence must often be seen in the context of a civil war situation, part of battle statistics, rather than "normal" rates of violence in a more stable society.

For an investigation of black murder rates to be compiled would be extremely difficult, due to the accuracy of the official records and the lack of information that is available about the nature of the relationship between the victim and the aggressor. Violence is extremely high in the black population, it is of a personal, criminal and political nature. To divide the cases accurately into political and non-political would be extremely difficult as even basic information is lacking in many cases. For example for the month of October 1993 in Natal a total of one hundred and fifty two people were killed, but only twenty four people were arrested by the S.A.P. for the assaults, ie an arrest rate of only sixteen percent.⁴ Accurate analysis from this data cannot be produced, because the nature of the assault is speculated at by the police, but true motives are impossible to discover unless the aggressor can be questioned. However, from the data that is available it is possible to make an analysis of

⁴S.A.P.6 October 1993

the nature and pattern of white murder in Natal, and the country as a whole.

The data that is analysed comprises of deaths in Natal for 1992-1993. Additional data for white deaths for the whole of South Africa for the years 1983-1990 are included in order to enhance the depth of the data and its analysis. This additional data encompasses the occupation, age and sex of white victims, data which is not accessible for the core Natal data.

LEGAL PROBLEMS TO BE CONSIDERED

The legal aspects of the homicide and murder are vital to consider. It is, after all, the legal definitions that we have to rely upon in order to attain the necessary statistics.

According to South African law homicide consists of various forms, dependent upon whether or not the act was intentional (murder) or negligent (culpable homicide). Infancide and euthanasia are also considered as murder, but usually classified separately. If one conducts a study into the results of the courts actions as a source for the data for homicides, then the figures will be severely skewed. The results of a legal case will depend upon the apprehension of the aggressor, the skill of the legal teams involved, and the amount of evidence available. This is of course very problematic, particularly with the low level of prosecutions that occur (eg. 15.8 % for October 1993⁵).

The reliance upon the law is however a necessary evil that one has to take into consideration when dealing with this study. It is after all the legal definitions that present us with the raw data in the first place. One cannot escape from it, as the legal codes pervade every part of our lives, and must therefore be accepted as a given within the statistics.

⁵S.A.P.6. October 1993

The question still remains as to what extent the legal definitions of homicide influence the statistical records ? South African law is Roman Dutch, and differs from other countries legal codes. Can one then accurately compare statistics from various countries when their classifications differ ? The counter to this would be that surely the definition of homicide is generally universal. Unfortunately this is not the case, particularly when it deals with the question of extenuating circumstances, political violence and state sponsored or organised violence. The range of acts included within these categories is very wide and to make a study without taking into account the differences of public and legal attitude toward the various categories, motives, defences, and circumstances of murders would be inaccurate.

Even to study within a single nation, one must take note of any varying beliefs on the nature of violence. The "collective consciousness" of Durkheim exists very rarely across a whole population, as much as a cohesive population exists across the whole nation.

If the intention to kill is relevant then how many homicides have occurred where there has been no intention; can one distinguish between a homicide caused by intention and one that did not have intention; and are intended homicides "worse" than those that are not intended ? Should we really be concerned with these points?

By entering into the legal elements of homicide one is opening a venerable Pandora's Box of argument and counter argument.

The actual number of deaths that are reported are but a small percentage of the total amount of violence that occurs within the society. Unfortunately it is the most accurate data that is available, and thus has to be used in spite of its flaws and inaccuracies.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

Works on homicide, violence and murder are numerous, however many are not relevant. The main problem with most texts from the U.S.A. and Britain is that they are restricted to the local society. It is difficult to take theories and more especially results from industrialised, highly urbanised societies and relate them to South African conditions.

The core theories of control, ecological influences, and community structure are however useful in the analysis of the murder trends in South Africa.

The work of Wolfgang (1958) promotes a sub-cultural approach to the creation of violent groups within the community. However, it is difficult to relate the idea of a sub-culture of violence, when in South Africa there appears to be a culture of violence. Violence is the norm rather than the exception, the use of violence does not really go against the general trend that exists in this society.

The Chicago School and more recently Bryne (1986), Huff-Corzine and Moore (1991), McClain (1984), Sampson and Groves (1989) and Smith (1986) analysed the ecological processes of the community and society at large for the production of a social environment

that promotes the creation of violence. The Chicago School appears to have fallen out of favour, but its ideas and theories are very relevant for the South African conditions. The structural conditions that impinge upon the community directly affect their opportunities for stress release, or containment.

The South African legacy of Apartheid social and physical engineering has done much to create physical environments which are well suited for the promotion of high levels of deviance and violence. Although the various authors do not deal with conditions on the scale of apartheid, their work on the racial and economic disparities and stresses that are enhancing factors for the creation of an unstable and deviantly violent community are relevant to this study.

Economic factors, such as employment and economic stability have been investigated by Huff-Corzine et al (1991) and Sampson (1987). These studies show that relative economic deprivation and inequality assist in the creation of an unstable community, and one that is less prone to social control and more willing to engage in deviant and more importantly violent acts. The directing of the violence inward, within the community, rather than directing it out is an important factor, particularly with regard to black murder trends, where this can be clearly seen to be occurring. Within the white communities however this is more problematic, as they are generally more economically stable.

Secondary factors such as firearm ownership and alcohol use have been studied to some extent, but with no firm results. The scale of weapon use in white murders is high, and the role that firearms play in murder is a difficult one to accurately evaluate. Dixon and Lizotte (1993), Young (1985), and Harries (1990) all deal with this topic, but come to no firm results.

Alcohol can be placed in a similar category as firearms, in that its presence is generally considered to increase the likelihood of violence and death occurring, but as a single causal factor it cannot be isolated from the wider structural factors. The work of Collins (1982), and Forrest and Gordon (1990) show that the role that alcohol and other drugs have on murder is important, but that it is a part of the wider picture of violence, and it cannot be isolated as a direct cause.

The work of Greenberg (1986) is particularly important in analysing the effects of fear on the community structure. Smith and Glanz (1989) in their analysis of the South African situation, show that fear of crime is not related to the actual incidence of crime in the white community. Those who are at risk do not always fear crime the most. The split is on a racial level, with education playing an important role in the creation of attitudes toward crime risk.

Research into murder in South Africa is relatively limited to the political effects of violence. The work of Straker (1992), van der Westhuizen (1982), McKendrick and Hoffmann (1990), and Olivier (1988) all deal in part with violence and deviance in South Africa. The work of Aitchison (1990), Louw (1992), Bekker (1992) and Minnaar (1992) all deal with the present Natal violence, but their work deals mainly with the political violence that occurs, with little reference to the more general murder trends. Thus reliance has to be placed upon the works from outside South Africa. The works are both relevant and useful, but due to their limited number and scope are not as penetrating as the work of authors from the U.S.A. or Europe.

Thus reliance has to be placed upon the non-South African works. Even though the situation in South Africa does not reflect the conditions that are experienced in the U.S.A. or Europe, there are similarities which can be used as a base from which to work.

CHAPTER THREE
STRUCTURE OF THE COMMUNITY

What is important to study is "not what kind of individuals tend to commit violent crimes, but what social conditions make it likely that many people commit them." ⁶

The structure of the society in general and the community in particular are vital areas in the determinant of the rate of homicide and risk of violence. From an ecological view the social structure is a central determinant for the creation of deviance.

Durkheim makes the point that within the society are certain phenomena which exist to varying extent and degrees of intensity within each individual of that community.⁷ Therefore the violence that is expressed by the individual is symptomatic of the community at large. Their actions are not that deviant, they are not abberations from the norm which they are taught, but a logical result of the learning and the environment that they are exposed to. As Durkheim suggests "the average, then expresses a certain state of the group mind"⁸

⁶Blau & Blau, 1982, pg 115

⁷Durkheim E. 1966

⁸Durkheim E. 1966, pg 8

Is everything then a product of the environment around it ? Can the individual move along a line that does not already exist ? All forms of action are contained within the social structure, all present behaviours in the communities are already present in some form or another. Homicide exists as the violent act, but the violent behaviour exists in other forms within the society, in less deviant types, in more socially acceptable constructs - such as corporal punishment in the school and home, by the state in the form of capital punishment and military training, etc. Homicide is the apogee of this behaviour, it is not an aberration but an extension of the societal norm.

The nature and structure of the society determines the behaviour of the individuals within it. The nature of the collective consciousness, and the collective value system is very powerful and constraining in the freedom that the individual has to behave within certain patterns. How the society as a group behaves is different to that of the behaviour of the individual if isolated. The group is a product of its parts, but is more than its parts when it acts as an entity. The teaching within the group of the nature and role of violence is different to what the individual will teach another.

The community has many parts and many factors that play a role in its makeup. The structure of the society in general and the community in particular create the situation for the promotion

or hindering of the creation of potential aggressors and victims. It is within the social structure that the individual learns correct and appropriate behaviour patterns. If the behaviours and attitudes that are learnt do not discourage and, more importantly, encourage the use of violence then it would be normal for violence and murder to occur with high frequency within that society or community.

The problem in the research of homicide lies in the fine line between what is a violent act, and what is a homicide. For the difference between a death and a murder reliance has to be placed upon the definitions of the laws of the society, the result depending upon the skill of the legal practitioners rather as well as the evidence. The skills and availability of medical personnel, the availability of a suitable weapon all play a part in the determination of whether or not a violent act will result in a death or not. These factors are the product of the society, and thus the society that has within it the factors that will create the conditions that are favourable for high levels of interpersonal violence will also be influential in determining if a violent act will be lethal or not.

Community Heterogeneity - Homogeneity

Hansmann and Quigley (1982) state that the heterogeneity of the population plays a part in the creation of a stable or unstable community. They postulate that within a homogenous population there should be a greater consensus of mores and values. The institutions within that community should be perceived as legitimate and representative of the community itself, thus the community will be stable and non-deviant. However in a heterogenous community, the mores and values will not be similar through the community. This will be a stress factor placed upon the community, as it will not operate as a cohesive unit. Not all individuals will perceive the institutions as legitimate, thus the external control mechanisms will be weakened, allowing for an increase in deviant acts. This heterogeneity can lead to increased aggression within the community as a coping mechanism for the instability that the individual will experience.

As Hansmann and Quigley suggest "While individuals may be inclined to feel aggressive toward others who are culturally or physiologically different, that aggression may in fact often be taken out on members of the individuals own group."⁹

⁹Hansmann & Quigley, 1982, pg 208

Hansmann and Quigley found that homicide rates were positively related to ethnic heterogeneity, and negatively related to linguistic heterogeneity.

Sampson and Groves (1989) and Gartner (1990) support the findings of Hansmann and Quigley, and further state that it is the level of community disorganization, particularly with regard to the levels of control placed upon the community that is intrinsic in the determination of future crime levels. It is the level of homogeneity in the community that determines the level of community links.

Sampson and Groves postulate that if the community is heterogenous then the links within the community are weaker than in a homogenous one. There is a break down in the support structure that the community plays, as it no longer views itself as a single entity, but rather as a multitude of smaller communities, with few links with the other members of the community who do not share the same ethnic or racial background.¹⁰ In the case of South Africa this element will not be affected dramatically by the economic background, as race has been a far more important gauge for the individual's position within the community than their economic position.

¹⁰Sampson R.J. and Groves W.B., 1989.

The role of the race divisions allows for the various communities to live on the whole separate lives. It is only within the larger cities that racial mixing occurs within the housing areas, and these areas themselves are few in number, the large proportion of the regions being divided along race and economy rather strictly.

But can one extrapolate this theory to the South African conditions? At a community level the populations are generally homogenous, but on a societal level they are heterogenous. Does the heterogeneity of the greater population influence the smaller community? This is making an assumption that differing value structures occur between differing ethnic communities, and more importantly that the value and norms are in some way in conflict with each other. The values and norms of one group must also be seen as a threat to another group. This can be seen as evident in the South African context, with the legacy of apartheid and the politicisation of the norm and value structures.

The white population has been the dominant elite; politically, economically and socially. It has been their value and norm structures that have been codified and entrenched in the institutions of this country. The black norm structures have generally been viewed as non-legitimate by the white community. It is through the practices of apartheid and economic inequality that the white population have been able to maintain their social

and economic position of dominance. The white population have been able to carve out homogenous communities within the country, and have been able through their political and economic power to exclude other racial groups from entering these enclaves to any significant extent.

The changing political situation has lead to an increasing fear amongst some of the white population concerning the altering of the homogeneity of their communities. This can be clearly seen by the actions of the right-wing political groups and their perception that their norm and value structures are being threatened by the political changes. They fear any change to the homogeneity of their community; they perceive a heterogenous population as a considerable threat to themselves and their life styles.

Can one argue that the oppression of the black population has been a contributing factor in the rates of homicide in the white population ? It can certainly be cited as one of the central factors for the high rates of homicide among the black population. If culture conflict does extrapolate through into intracultural stresses, then the system of apartheid can be blamed for increasing the levels of violence and homicide in the white population. To test this however is impossible, one can only postulate.

The apartheid system has caused a high stress situation within the society. The stress has increased for the white population in the last four to five years with the rapidly changing political situation, the resulting changing balance of power and altering dominant norm structures, as well as the political violence and the increased threat and fear of attack from politically or economically motivated criminals. An increase in the levels of anomie can be seen to prevail within parts of the white population, particularly those sectors who feel most threatened by the political change - ie the politically conservative, and those who are have the most to lose economically with a change from the racially biased employment practices.

The white population does not suffer from the same levels of economic and racial discrimination that the black population does. However, they too are stressed and are influenced by economic and social inequalities. The society as a whole is influenced when one sector is affected by stressors and the situation is created for a violent environment to evolve.

Because South Africa is a stressed society, one cannot view any community as being separate from the general situation that pervades in the wider society. The stresses in the society have increased dramatically in the past 20 years, with the increase in the war in Angola, increased military service for all white

males (except in the last two years), increasing siege mentality by many in the white society, as well as the increased military attacks by the ANC and PAC, the affect that the military action has taken is difficult to determine directly, but its effects have filtered through the society in the form of fear. This stress adds to the already present factors that contribute to the creation of a high risk environment for homicide.

The social disorder that is present in the community is constructed from various elements - social and economic inequality, family disorder, as well as the effects of apartheid - both physical and mental. The result is a society that is violent, that has internalised the use of violence and legitimated its use. There are constant reinforcers within and without the immediate community.

Coping strategies for the stresses in the society are more available to those with some form of wealth. Those in the middle and upper economic classes have access to a wide variety of facilities that will reduce stress in some way. For the poor however, their choices are limited. Few recreation facilities exist in poor areas, and the stress is often directed inward to the family or the individual themselves.

Within the cultures there is the use of violence as a means of control and achieving ones aims. The question that must be asked is that of "Does the racial conflict that is present in South Africa affect the rates of violence intra-racially ? " Does the wider ethnic heterogeneity affect the structures within the homogeneity of the localised community ?

Economic Environment

Economic forces can and do affect the rate of homicide and violence. The key question is which forces and how does it happen ?

Crutchfield R.D. (1989) postulates that unemployment can increase or decrease crime. It can be increased due to the simple need to engage in illegal activities in order to survive when the legal channels are no longer available. Crime can also decrease due to the lack of available and viable targets as there will be less to steal and people will spend more time at home and protect their property. Crutchfield shows that "unemployment is not a strong predictor of violent crime."¹¹ It is the wider economic situation and relative economic impoverishment that impacts upon the social structure.

A very complex situation and set of influences exists, as one cannot just take the basic rate of unemployment, but must look at who is unemployed, which age division, which sex and which income group. Each factor will place different stressors on the society, and will be linked to the groups who are most prone to being aggressors and victims.

¹¹Crutchfield R.D. 1989, pg 490

Crutchfield divides the labour market into "good" and "bad" jobs in the dual labour market: "Primary" and "Secondary". Primary occupations are central to the economy and include manufacturing/management/skilled workers. They have greater job security, greater ties with fellow workers and with the community in general.

Secondary occupations are on the periphery - waiters, domestics, etc. These occupations have a greater job turnover, less work stability, and weak ties with fellow workers.

The structure of the occupations of the majority of the workers in the community will determine the nature of that community. Communities that have a majority of secondary workers will be less economically stable, and this economic instability will influence other sectors of the community life and structure. With less financial power the individual will have fewer opportunities available, be less able to avoid or alter any social deprivation that occurs in the community. If the community is characterised by secondary occupations, one would expect to see a high rate of unemployment, or underemployment. A sizeable percentage of the young male population will be in the community with relatively little to occupy them. They will not have much stake in the system, and thus fewer social and economic controls will affect them.

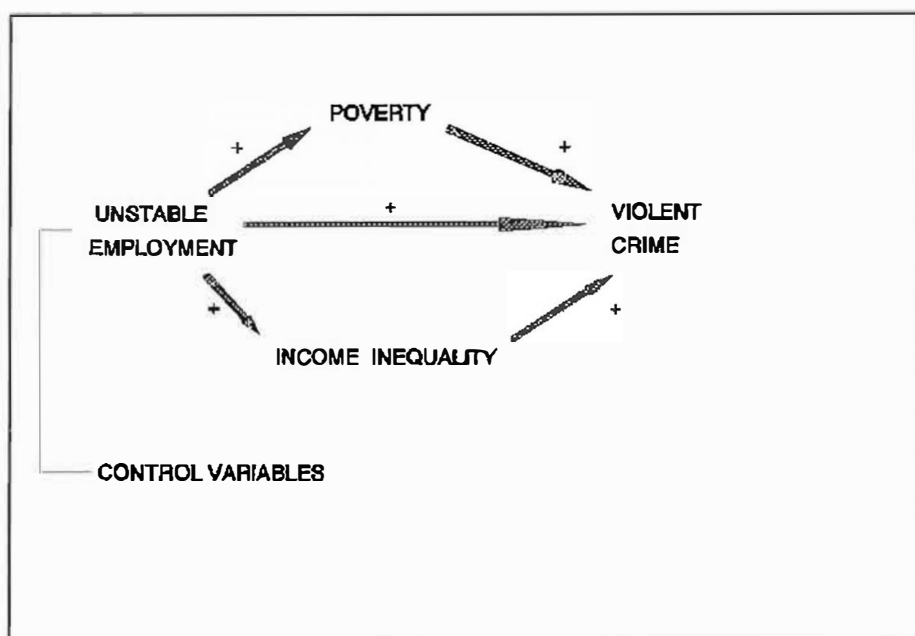


Figure 1: Relationship between Employment and Violent Crime

From Crutchfield 1989, pp 493

The five control variables, the percent non-white, central business district, crowding, the percentage divorced, and the percentage that is young and male are included in the analysis but details about them have not been included in the figure in order to simplify the depiction.

Those with primary occupations and living in communities which are characterised by a high percentage of primary occupations will be more able to use their economic power to better their own lifestyles, improve their personal safety, get greater access to coping mechanisms and be able to avoid to some extent any deprivation that occurs in the community.

The social bonds that will limit crime or deviance in a community through the process of internal controls, as well as some external controls will not be present in the secondary occupation communities. Low level of work association results in the less stringent need to conform to the societies or communities norms. Thus there is less control and a greater chance for deviance to occur.

Fear of Crime

The perceptions of the individual towards becoming a victim plays an important part in the creation of a high or low risk environment for murder or violence to occur. Smith and Glanz (1989) state that fear of crime is an important factor of the creation of adverse social, psychological, and economic conditions within a community, which will in turn create more crime to occur. Fear of crime will alter the individuals behaviour patterns, and manner of life.¹² It does not matter if the person is a victim to feel fear of attack, "more people fear crime than are actually victimized."¹³ Whether or not the fear is rational or irrational, the end result is the same for the individual and the community at large - a change in lifestyle, an increase in defensive measures, an increase in fear of others. Generally the creation of a social situation wherein previously normal behaviour is perceived as threatening, and the enhancement of a high risk situation for violence to occur.

Greenberg (1986) links fear of crime to the decrease of social control that arises from social deterioration. If there is a decrease in the levels of social control within the community, as well as the society at large, which results in an increase of fear of victimisation and resultant increase in obtaining

¹²Smith K. and Glanz L., 1989.

¹³Ibid, pg 54

effective countermeasures against the real or perceived threat, then there should be a corresponding increase in the number of homicides.¹⁴

Fear of crime involves a series of coping strategies for the individual and the community. These coping strategies are based on what the community is able to achieve, and this in turn is based on the economic wealth of the community or individual, as well as what they are most used to using as a coping strategy.

Within the context of South Africa as a whole and Natal in particular, there is a high level of fear of violence. Although the white population is least at risk from the political violence they are also caught up in the spiral of fear and its consequences.

¹⁴Greenberg S.W. 1986

Legitimate Violence

The cultural support for violence is very obvious in this country, as can be readily seen in the use of violence from the level of the state in the suppression of opposition to its apartheid policies to the individual level, wherein interpersonal violence is taught and used on a daily basis.

Violence is exercised through institutionalised channels, such as the courts wherein the death penalty is frequently imposed, the police force and the military who are well known in their use of force in order to establish control or to suppress opposition to the state. Its use by these institutions reinforces the legitimacy of violence as a means of control in the society. Violence has also been legitimated through the political struggle against the state. This legitimation is not limited only to the organisations opposing the state, but has been used by the state to legitimate its own violence.

It is also present in the wider community itself both in the schooling system, where corporal punishment is frequently used for discipline, and in the home. The promotion of violent games, such as rugby, must also be taken into account in the analysis. This legitimised violence is influential in the promotion of the belief that violence is acceptable in certain forms and at certain times to achieve control over others, or to suppress

opposition. The behaviour and attitudes are internalised and constantly reinforced by the individual.

The constant reinforcement of the use of violence to control and to achieve ones aims is very influential in the creation of the perception that violence is a legitimate and valid form of behaviour. If the state is using violence to achieve its aims, then why can't the individual use the same methodology to achieve their own goals ? The individual will not have the same resources open to them, however, the attitude will be present, and that is what is important in the creation and reinforcement of a violent attitude.

The role of the death penalty is one that has been under some lengthy study, particularly in its supposed "deterrent" effect upon the criminal. Work by Baily W.C. and Peterson R.D. (1990) shows that the supposed deterrent effect of capital punishment does not exist. This does not mean however that capital punishment does not have an effect upon the society. The law seeks to provide a deterrent for the individual from committing crime. The punishment is meant to fit the severity of the crime. However the effect of the death penalty as a deterrent effect upon the rates of homicide has been shown to be negligible, if at all.

However, we must look beyond this initial effect, and study the broader issue at stake - that of the nature of the society itself, and in particular how the death penalty plays a role in the legitimation of violence, and how it is symptomatic of the very structure of the society.

A state which employs the death penalty as a means of control cannot expect its citizens not to learn in some way that the use of violence is acceptable in some form as a means of control. This does not automatically mean of course that the nations that do not employ the death penalty do not have citizens who are willing to engage in violence or that all the citizens in states that do employ the death penalty are more intrinsically violent than their neighbours. The use of the death penalty in South Africa is interconnected with and symptomatic of the violent structure of the society. Various institutions employ the use of violence in some form in order to control or suppress opposition - the courts, police, military and the schooling system are some examples. The idea of violence being acceptable is constantly reinforced throughout many peoples lives. This does not of course mean that the total population of the country is of a violent nature, as this is obviously untrue. But this constant reinforcement of violence in the school, during military training, and by the state through the police and the courts does have an effect upon the underlying perceptions of the populace.

Linked with this is the ongoing violence than can be equated to a civil war in the country. Natal is particularly hard hit in this area, with political homicides occurring weekly if not daily. The image presented by the media is not of shock, but that this violence is almost normal. For an act of violence that occurs in a township to be placed on the front page requires something out of the ordinary to occur - such as a large scale killing, or someone of high status to be the victim. The media coverage is in part reflective of the wider society and the level of desensitisation to the ongoing violence that is prevalent in the society. This has an effect upon the mentality of the population, especially in their perceptions of the use of violence. When violence becomes "normal" then there is a breakdown of the moral code and the maintenance of internal control factors relating to the use of violence in interpersonal behaviour. The political violence in the townships, although not directly experienced by the majority of the white population has an effect upon the perceptions of the white population. The image portrayed is that one can use violence in order to achieve ones aims and also that one must use violence in order to protect oneself.

The use of violence is legitimated on a national and an individual level through the actions of the state and dominant political and social groups. An internalisation of the normality

of violence has apparently occurred in large sectors of the society, thus violence is a norm, and not deviant.

Coping Mechanisms

Within the society the individual will react in a manner which they are most comfortable with, that they have learnt to use to cope with the situation.

Cohen and Machalek (1988), contend that behaviours are not an individual characteristic but the result of the choices that are open to that individual. Some people are taught more options than others, or are better able to use the options open to them. For the less educated the option of reasonable argument is not as accessible as the option of a fight as it is for those who have learnt good verbal skills.

Part of these options will be deviant behaviour. The belief that deviant behaviour is an acceptable response to certain circumstances increases the likelihood of a crime being committed. Within the realm of violence - the options are readily reinforced in certain groupings within the community. Their violent responses to stress, fear, anger, etc will be only one option that *could* have been employed. However, the other options are either viewed as inappropriate due to the severity of the situation, or just not viable enough due to a lack of sufficient familiarity with their use.

A person will use the methods of coping that they are most suited to, what they have been taught, and the behaviours that have been reinforced by their peers and the social grouping that they associate with.

The situation that the act of violence occurs in is vital for its final interpretation by the wider community. The same violent action may be performed by two different individuals, but due to the fact that one of them is involved in a fight with a thief, the other in a bar fight - their actions will be viewed as different. But the key question is "are their actions that different?" The situations are different, but the physical behaviour is the same. Where does one draw the line between the acts of violence? Who are the violent elements in the society? It is not always those who commit homicides, there are other ways in which people can express their anger or violent tendencies, but the opportunity to release these stresses are different for the various sectors of the community.

Human beings engage in rational and cognitive thought, they are able to predict the results of their behaviour and thus alter their present behaviour to suite the desired outcome. However, not all of this behaviour is done on a conscious level, the behaviour is not the same for each individual, due to the fact that each person has been taught differently, and will react differently to the same situation. The individual will respond

to a situation in a manner that they deem appropriate. This behaviour is based upon their own learning and experience. The environment that they live in and behave in is vital in determining their actual reaction. The constant reinforcement of the necessity for violence, and the lack of other means of dealing with aggression, threats or stress forces the individual to make a limited choice when engaged in behaviour.

The limits of this learning process are greatly influenced and set by the environment that the individual lives in. The limits are different for each socio-economic grouping, and thus one cannot expect the same responses from people who develop in different environments.

The factors that increase the options of learning and behaviour are also linked to the availability of more alternative methods of getting rid of stress and aggression, as well as an increased opportunity to escape from the stress. The advantages of education and wealth go beyond the initial advantages of widening the individuals options for behavioral reaction, but also give the opportunity for escape from the stress producing situations that are simply not available for the other sectors of the community that do not have the financial resources to escape from their immediate environment and thus reduce their stress levels.

Conclusion

The community must be viewed as a mosaic that is constructed from a mired of physical, social, geographic, and political factors. Each on their own will not cause the society to form in the way it does. Each factor interacts with the other to form an intermeshed system of influences that will enhance or hinder the creation of a community that will use interpersonal violence to achieve their aims, whether they be economic, political or personal.

The structure of the community will add to or relieve the stresses that are placed upon the individual. The community can create the situation in which violence becomes the most viable, logical and "normal" instrument for achieving ones aims. It is within the community that the individual will learn directly and indirectly what behaviour is acceptable, available and useful. The individual is not separate from his or her social environment, neither is their social environment separate from the individual. The process is interconnected with a constant feedback loop operating in the determination of behaviour and the reaction towards behaviour.

CHAPTER FOUR

ADDITIONAL FACTORS FOR MURDER - ALCOHOL USE AND FIREARM OWNERSHIP

The use of alcohol, or any other behaviour altering drug along with the presence of a deadly weapon will alter the degree of risk of a homicide occurring. Both factors are important, but difficult to isolate as single factors in murder.

Alcohol Use and Murder

Within the context of alcohol use it is rather difficult to take it as a single factor in the process of the generation of violent and homicidal acts. To solely blame the use or misuse of alcohol for the rates of homicide is not accurate. It is a factor, but one that is extremely difficult to control for and accurately estimate its actual effect in the determination of the rates of homicide.

The S.A.P. data, as well as the Central Statistical Service data carry no information about the presence or absence of alcohol in either the victim or aggressor. The only place where the alcohol level will be recorded will be in the coroners report, and all these cases are confidential, needing the approval of the Minister of Home Affairs to open them for study. This is

problematic, as alcohol is seen to be a contributing factor in many studies.

Studies by Roman (1982), Collins (1982) and Forrest and Gordon (1990) show that alcohol plays an important role in the creation of a high risk situation for murder. However, it is not a single causal factor, but interacts with other social and environmental factors. The role of alcohol in the creation of murders, or high risk environments is similar to the other factors, such as the ownership of firearms. By itself it is not a factor, but in conjunction with other factors a high risk situation occurs, where violence will most likely occur.

Unfortunately in order to more fully understand the role that alcohol has in violence, the data that is recorded for deaths will have to be expanded. At this stage any analysis is almost impossible.

Gun Use and Murder

Gun ownership and use is prevalent in this country - for sport, personal protection and in the use of crime. The link between the use of a gun and the numbers of homicides is a difficult one to actually pin down.

At first sight the link is obvious, if a gun is used, the chances of a homicide occurring are increased. However, the work of Kleck G. and McElrath K. (1991) casts some doubt upon this. They suggest that the presence of a gun helps to reduce the rates of deadly injury, due to the response of the victim. They postulate that the victim will be less likely to respond aggressively to the sight of a gun, than with any other weapon which they might believe that they could take away from the aggressor, or will have a chance of escape. The key element is the willingness to use the weapon concerned, and the willingness of the victim to retaliate to the threat of assault.

The underlying element here though is the motive for using the gun in the first place - if it is just to scare, or institute some measure of control, then the chances of its use will be lower than if the intention is to harm. One must look further than the individual though and look at the greater society, and its perception of weapon ownership.

The use of a weapon is related to the nature of the society, it can be linked to the role and nature and perception of status and power in the society. Power in society is traditionally obtained through status - whether it be in the form of economic, religious, social, educational, or military/physical force. The carrying of a weapon allows the owner to achieve instant status - and within a cultural model where violence is supported, or at least not condemned, this will give the owner a high status, one which they will be willing to defend through the use of violence. Power is "ultimately derive[d] to some extent from a capacity to use physical force and violence." ¹⁵ A firearm gives anyone the instant capacity to use or threaten to use deadly force.

It is the mind set which encourages the carrying of a weapon, whether it be a gun or not that fits into the development of a violent sub-culture, or mainstream culture. "Possession of a weapon grants power that may be especially important in facilitating the aggression of weaker aggressors toward stronger victims." ¹⁶ The carrying of a weapon lends itself to an increase in the rates of injury, the more deadly the weapon the greater the chance of death when it is used. It does not however mean that those communities which carry weapons are any more violent than those who don't, it is just that the end result of their actions is usually different.

¹⁵Kleck & McElrath, 1991, pg 669

¹⁶Ibid pg 672

One must also investigate the different weapons that are used in assaults. If a gun is used then the chances of death occurring will be higher than if a knife or other weapon is used due to the lethal nature of the gun itself.

A subculture of violence is not dependent upon the availability of guns, but can one turn this argument around and say that the ownership of guns does not signify a penchant towards violence. "Region and gun ownership are related to defensive attitudes that are not indicative of a subculture of violence."¹⁷

In the case of rural Natal one can argue that a sub-culture exists, but that the firearms owned by farmers and are perceived in a different manner than those owned by a city dweller. The role of the firearms is perceived in a different manner, not as part of a violent culture, but as a normal part of rural life. The urban dweller will not own a firearm in order to protect livestock, but rather as a means of self-defence.

If weapons are carried then the chances of a homicide occurring, whether the owner of the weapon is the aggressor or the victim, is increased, due to the simple fact that a deadly weapon is easily accessible. Wolfgang (1958) showed that the victim was the original aggressor in 26 percent of murder cases in the

¹⁷Dixon J. & Lizotte A.J.pg 383

Philaedelpia region.¹⁸ The carrying of a weapon increases the chance of that same weapon being used against you.

But one must also take into account the effect of the threat of the use of a gun. Kleck G. and McElrath K. (1991) showed that if the weapon is used to threaten, and not actually to harm - then the chance of death is less than if another form of weapon is used, such as a knife. The victim will be less likely to aggressively respond in the face of a gun, knowing that their chances of death are significant if they resist.

However, this is dependent upon the aggressor not wanting to harm the victim. In the situation in South Africa it appears that there are an increasing number of robberies in which the victim is killed, as they *might* pose a threat to the aggressor once the robbery is complete. The victim might also be armed, and thus it is easier for the aggressor to kill the victim, which reduces the threat of being killed. The fear on the part of the aggressor of the victim owning a firearm thus increases the likelihood of the aggressor killing the victim in order to protect him/herself from harm.

It is inaccurate to base any theories of violence merely upon the rate of homicides within the communities who own a high number of firearms. In other communities the same amount of violence

¹⁸Wolfgang M.E., 1958, pg 254

might well occur, but due to a lack of availability of firearms, the final result of violence - ie homicide -is at a lower level than in the first community.

On the other hand the mere number of firearms owned in a specific community is not a direct indicator of the level of violence or the level of homicide threat. It is erroneous to collate the two aspects, as ownership of a weapon does not automatically mean it will be used.

To make a cause and effect argument based upon the availability, or more accurately the actual ownership of firearms, and the rate of homicides is erroneous. The use and the actual ownership level are two different aspects and it is inaccurate to collate the two into a single factor to explain the homicide rate. To glibly state that the number of firearms owned in this country demonstrates the violent mentality of the populace, as well as their willingness to use them, is not only illogical in argument, it is inaccurate in its supposition and theoretical backing.

One of the National Rifle Association (U.S.A) mottos is "Guns don't kill people, people kill people". This statement is both correct and an incorrect use of all the facts. People do kill people, but guns do help in the achieving of these acts. But to say that the owning of a gun will result in a homicide, or that it will increase the risk of homicide is partly true but not an

overwhelming factor in determining the rates of homicide in the Natal province. The rate of violence is not connected to the ownership of firearms, but is a separate entity. One can surmise that the ownership of a firearm will increase the likelihood of a homicide occurring, but the actual ownership of the firearm is not a valid or very accurate predictor of the level of violence within that community, or the individuals predilection for violence.

The question of the existence of a sub-culture is extremely difficult to determine with any real accuracy or satisfaction. The presence of a sub-culture presumes that the people within this grouping are all of a similar nature. To categorise the Weenen farmer, and the Pietermaritzburg resident in the same category because they both own firearms is erroneous. To base the statistics upon the number of firearms owned will present an even more inaccurate picture, as the rural farmers usually own more than one firearm, but will be at the same risk level as the city dweller.

CHAPTER FIVE
DATA COLLECTION

In South Africa the data on deaths are recorded by the South African Police (S.A.P.), Central Statistical Services, the Department of Health and the Department of Home Affairs. There is repetition of the data between these agencies, with the police being the source of the core data. The other agencies collate it in differing ways and the Central Statistical Services publish death records for the country as a whole on an annual basis.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

Each police station maintains its own records on the nature of the crimes that occur in their own area. The collation of data into a central data bank on crimes has only recently been established with the Centre For The Analysis and Interpretation of Crime Information (C.A.I.C.I.), prior to this records were kept only in the district police stations. Murders are recorded on a S.A.P.6 form and sent to regional headquarters. However, as with all data capture there is lost data - not all of the police stations fill in the forms or send them in on a regular basis. To compound this, the homelands do not operate within the same system, all crimes committed in the homelands are investigated by the homeland police, and not by the S.A.P. This data too can be considered to be "lost", as it is not reported

to the regional headquarters for collecting. Due to the geographic nature of the homelands a true picture of the rates and distribution of homicides in South Africa is almost impossible to determine, one can only speculate from the inferences made by the S.A.P. data.

Constraints of time, manpower and resources have placed limits on the collection of data. For a fully comprehensive study to occur into the nature of homicides in South Africa, data would have to be collected at each individual police station around the country, as there is no other manner in which detailed data could be collected. The constraints of confidentiality are also problematic, as permission would have to be granted from the Minister of Home Affairs to allow the case dockets to be viewed. One thus has to make do with a limited amount of data from which to make a study. South Africa has a long way to go to get to the levels of sophistication of the U.S.A. with their Uniform Crime Reports.

The data for murders is recorded in two ways :

Firstly according to the race of the victim and the aggressor, as well as the type of weapon used. This information is useful in determining the intra and inter racial murder rates, as well as the differences in weapon use. However no gender or age breakdown is given, neither is there any information on the

relationship between the victim and aggressor, the cause of the murder or its precise physical locality.

Secondly, and only recently, the murder data has been recorded on a more sophisticated manner. It is categorised into:

Time of day

Day of the week

Location of murder (inside/outside the home)

Method of entry into victim's home

Type of weapon used

Victim's age, sex and race

Aggressor's age, sex and race (if known)

Number of aggressors involved (if known)

Cause of murder

Relationship between the victim and aggressor

There are however problems with the structure of the categories in this research tool. The ages of the victims and aggressors are categorised into only five groups, ie under ten years, ten to twenty, twenty to fifty, fifty and over, and unknown. These are very broad categories, and the twenty to fifty age group is particularly problematic, as most homicides will occur in this group, but the category covers thirty years.

The cause of murder is divided into only two categories: criminal or political, again this is problematical as it limits the

accuracy of the data. The cause of the murder is of course limited to the availability of the aggressor or witnesses, and the reliability of the investigating policeman.

Another problem is the low level of arrests for the homicides of black victims, in the month of October 1993 only 13,8% of aggressors were prosecuted for the murders of blacks.¹⁹ This lack of accurate data about the nature of the aggressor severely limits any sort of research and analysis.

In the South African context the S.A.P. are trying to collect data for "normal" crime, but in many instances are operating in a semi-war zone, where "normal" homicides will be small in number to the political killings. This situation of war lends itself to low levels of reporting homicides, and a possible merging of the political and the criminal in motive. There is also the problem of a lack of cooperation of the local people to help the S.A.P. in their investigations.

CENTRAL STATISTICAL SERVICES

The Central Statistical Services collect data on all deaths reported in South Africa. They give a breakdown on a national level according to race, sex, age and occupation of the victim. The problem of this data is that no information can be obtained

¹⁹C.A.I.C.I. data 1993

about the nature of the aggressor. One can infer from the type of victim and the nature of the aggressor, but this in itself is highly problematical and one would have to make some unfounded assumptions. However, the data in itself is useful in determining who in the population is most at risk from violence, which age group, as well as education level is most likely to be a victim. The education level can be inferred by the victim's occupation.

The Department of Home Affairs and the Department of Health act merely as collecting agencies, and do not keep any accurate data for deaths.

CHAPTER SIX**DATA ANALYSIS : NATAL 1992 -1993**

Data was obtained from the S.A.P. Centre for the Analysis and Interpretation of Crime Information, Durban (C.A.I.C.A.) for all murders reported to the S.A.P. in the Natal region. Unfortunately, data was only available for the years 1992 and 1993. Data on murders that occurred in the Kwa-Zulu region was unavailable, as there is little sharing of information between the S.A.P. and the Kwa-Zulu Police (K.Z.P.).²⁰ This is problematic, as a complete picture of the murder rates for the Natal region is almost impossible to obtain.

The data is recorded according to the race of the victim and the offender, as well as the type of weapon used in each case. The data only shows cases that were reported to the S.A.P., and do not include any cases that occurred in the Kwa Zulu region.²¹

The classification of the data is in the following categories:

Weapon used: Small arms (pistol, revolver)
 With another weapon (rifle, shotgun)
 High Calibre (automatic weapon)

²⁰Interview with Major D. Moon, Centre for the Analysis and Interpretation of Crime Information (C.A.I.C.I.) S.A.P.

²¹All data in this chapter is from the C.A.I.C.I. Durban.

With another weapon (knife, panga or any other object) including: as a consequence of stone-throwing, burning, explosives, land-mine explosion, etc.

Within each of these categories the data is further broken down on a racial basis according to the race of the victim and the aggressor for each case. This is categorised along the following lines:

White (victim) by White (aggressor)

White by Coloured or Asian

White by Black

Coloured or Asian by White

Black by White

Non-white by Non-white

Data is also given on how many of the cases went to court, were undetected, were false and were not completed by the investigating officers.

The grouping together of all "non-white by non-white" cases is problematic, as no information can be obtained about the true rates of intra-racial and inter-racial murder for the coloured, Asian and black communities. The data collection method is still based along apartheid lines, with more stress being placed upon the nature of white murders.

There is no data given on the sex or age of either the victim or aggressor, and it is not stated where the classification of a victim is allocated when the aggressor is not known. No information is given on the cause of the murder.

The thirteen police sub-units were split into two main types of area - urban and rural. Durban, Durban North, Durban South, Pinetown and Pietermaritzburg were classified as urban. The subregions of Dundee, Eshowe, Greytown, Kokstad, Ladysmith, Newcastle, Port Shepstone and Vryheid were classified as rural.²²

²²The areas included within each sub-division are:

Urban

Durban : Central city
 Durban North: Durban North, Inanda, up to Tugela
 Durban South: Amamzimtoti, Brighton Beach to Umgababa
 Pinetown : Chatsworth, Claremont, Hillcrest
 Pietermaritzburg: Central city, Howick, Camperdown, Edendale,
 Imbali

Rural

Dundee Glencoe, Hutting, Helpmekaar
 Eshowe Richards Bay, Matubatuba, Josini
 Greytown Wartburg, Dalton, Kranskop, Rietvlei
 Kokstad Matatiele to Underburg
 Ladysmith Escourt, Winterton, Esokeni
 Newcastle Charlestown to Utrecht
 Port Shepstone Umbagi to Harding to Port Edward
 Vryheid Paulpietersburg to Langsburg

The population for Natal at the last census in 1990 was

	WHITE	COL/ASIAN	BLACK	TOTAL
URBAN	373 073	286 234	227 281	886 588
RURAL	221 792	586 468	735 906	1 544 166
TOTAL	594 865	872 702	963 187	2 430 754

The population of Kwa-Zulu in 1990 was:

WHITE	COL/ASIAN	BLACK	TOTAL
2 069	3 711	5 518 731	5 524 511

23

These figures have been used to calculate the rates of murder for the region.

²³Compiled from Central Statistical Services Population Census 1991 No. 03-01-02

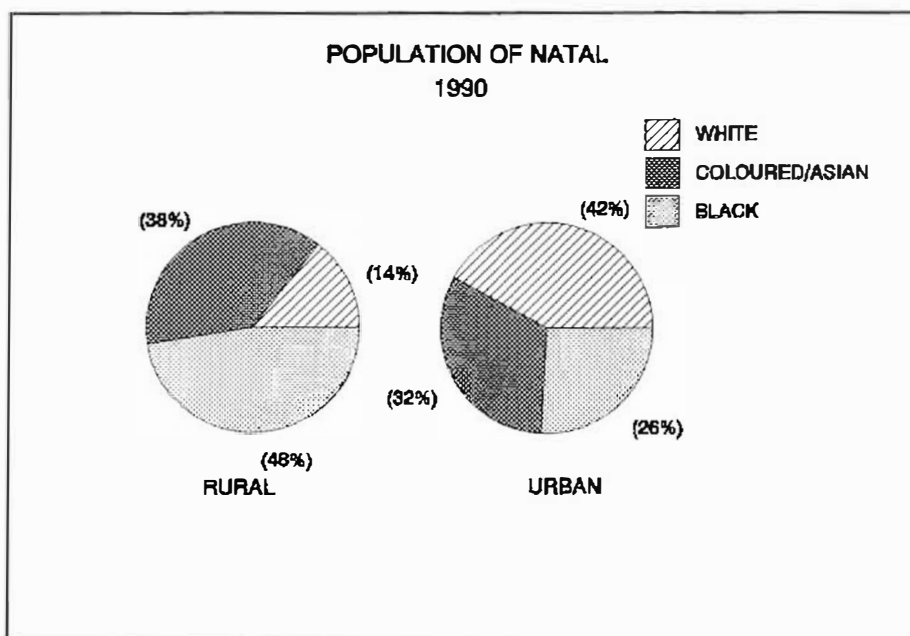


Figure 2: Population of Natal 1990

From Central Statistical Service 1990

Data Classification

For all the following tabulated data the figures in brackets are the actual murder total numbers for 1992 and 1993 combined, the figures out of brackets are the adjusted figures for the annual murder rate per 100 000 of the rural or urban populations. Unless stated, all figures refer to white victims in Natal for 1992 and 1993 combined. All murder data is from SAP 6 forms, C.A.I.C.I., Durban. All population data has been taken from the Central Statistical Service Census 1990, thus there will be some slight differences between the rates per 100 000 of the

population stated here, and the actual rates due to the population change from 1990 to the years of study - 1992 and 1993.

The totals are the combined totals for the two year period. The rates per 100 000 are the combined totals divided by 2 and worked out according to the Central Statistical Services population data for Natal.

Additional abbreviations used:

W=WHITE, B=BLACK, C OR COL/A=COLOURED/ASIAN, NON-W OR N-W = NON-WHITE (Black, Coloured and Asian combined)

ie: W-B RRL= White victim killed by Black aggressor in rural area

C-W URB = Coloured/Asian victim killed by White aggressor in urban area

Weapons Used

SMALL ARMS - Pistols, revolvers, handguns

RIFLE/STGUN - Rifle, shotgun, etc

HIGH CALIBRE- Automatic rifle, assault rifle (EG: G3, AK47)

OTHER - Knives, pangas, as a consequence of stone-throwing, burning, etc

White Victim. Natal 1992-1993Weapon Used by Aggressor

	SMALL ARMS RIFLE/STGUN	HIGH CAL	OTHER	TOTAL
W-W RRL	(8) 1.8	(1) 0.2	(0) 0	(9) 2
URBAN	(20) 2.68	(4) 0.54	(0) 0	(22) 2.95
W-C RRL	(4) 0.8	(0) 0	(0) 0	(4) 0.9
URBAN	(8) 1.07	(0) 0	(0) 0	(3) 0.4
				(11) 1.5
W-B RRL	(20) 4.5	(2) 0.45	(9) 2	(19) 4.3
URBAN	(30) 4.0	(2) 0.27	(6) 0.8	(29) 3.9
				(50) 11 (67) 8.98
TOT. RRL	(32) 7.2	(3) 0.68	(9) 2	(28) 6.3
URB	(58) 7.78	(6) 0.8	(6) 0.8	(54) 7.2
				(124) 16.6
TOTAL	(90) 7.6	(9) 0.76	(15) 1.26	(82) 6.9
				(196) 16.5

Non-White Victims Natal 1992-1993

	SMALL-ARM	RFL/STGUN	HIGH CAL	OTHER	TOTAL
COL/A-W RURAL	(0) 0	(0) 0	(9) 0.8	(1) 0.09	(10) 0.85
COL/A-W URBAN	(2) 0.35	(1) 0.2	(0) 0	(2) 0.3	(5) 0.9
BLK-WT RURAL	(22) 1.49	(4) 0.27	(13) 0.88	(4) 0.27	(43) 2.9
BLK-WT URBAN	(17) 3.74	(4) 0.88	(1) 0.22	(6) 1.3	(28) 6.16
NONW-NON W RURAL	(1812) 123.1	(491) 33.4	(316) 21.5	(3087) 209.7	(57.6) 387.7
NONW-NON W URBAN	(1415) 311.3	(169) 37.2	(88) 19.4	(3025) 665.5	(4697) 1033.3
TOTAL	(3268) 89	(669) 18.2	(427) 11.6	(6125) 166.8	(10489) 285.7

The non-white murders have to be placed in the context of the political situation in the country. There has been an on-going political war in the country between several political groupings. Natal is no exception to this violence. According to the Human Rights Commission, Natal accounted for 46 % of all the politically motivated deaths in the country for 1993.²⁴ According to this organisation the number of politically related deaths were 1430 in 1992 and 2009 in 1993, a total of 3439 for the period of study.²⁵ This means that of the 10 489 non-white murders in 1992 and 1993, approximately 32,8 percent were politically motivated. If the politically motivated deaths are excluded from the murder rates then the rate for non-whites will drop from 285.7 to 192. This figure is still high in relation to international rates, and is more than ten times the white murder rate for Natal.

If the population of Kwa-Zulu is included in the calculations then the rate drops to 80.78 per 100 000 for all murders, and if the suspected politically motivated murders are excluded the rate is 54.4. These are still extremely high rates and clearly demonstrate a violent society. However these calculations disregard the murders that occurred in Kwa-Zulu, as well as the number of aggressors and victims that reside in Kwa-Zulu and are thus included in the census there, but are involved in murder in

²⁴Human Rights Commission Human Rights Review 1993, pg 17

²⁵Ibid, pg 18

Natal. The deviation from the figure for the true murder rate is impossible to determine in the present conditions.

Race of Aggressor and Place of MurderWhite Victim; White, Coloured, Asian, Black Aggressor

PLACE	<u>Aggressor's Race</u>			TOTALS
	WHITE	COLOURED/ASIAN	BLACK	
URBAN	(46) 6.17	(11) 1.5	(67) 8.98	(124) 16.6
RURAL	(18) 4	(4) 0.9	(50) 11.3	(72) 16.2
TOTAL	(64) 5.4	(15) 1.3	(117) 9.8	(196) 16.5
PERCENTAGE	(32.7)	(7.6)	(59.7)	(100)

If one assumes that the communities in Natal are relatively racially exclusive, with limited inter-racial mixing, it can be seen that the murder rates are very different from the U.S.A. or Britain wherein the majority of murders are intra-racial.²⁶

Most whites were murdered by blacks (59.7%), and the level of white intra-racial murder is only 32.7%. The majority of white victim murders are inter-racial and not intra-racial, and in Natal this means that the murders are inter-community, not intra-community.

²⁶See Wolfgang (1958), Harries (1990), Bryne and Sampson (1986), Falk (1990)

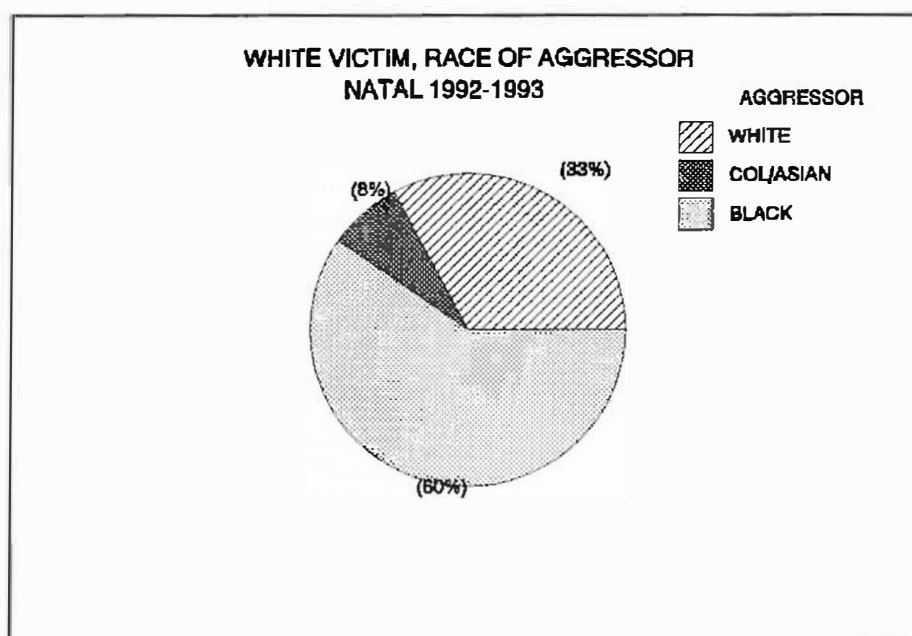


Figure 3:White Victim, Race of Aggressor

Murders of this type cannot be classified into the usual cause and relationship categories. The white victim and non-white aggressor will not generally be related, or married, or close acquaintances. The racist nature and apartheid policies of the South African institutions has resulted in relatively little inter-racial mixing on a social level, and relatively racially exclusive geographic areas. Thus the murders will either be linked to some other crime - such as robbery or rape - or be wilfully committed with the aim being to kill.

If a comparison is made with non-white murder victims, a very different picture emerges. The totals and the rates are up to

ten times the white murder rates, and the urban - rural difference is very marked.

Non-White Victims

AREA	AGGRESSORS RACE		TOTALS
	WHITE	NON-WHITE	
URBAN	(33) 7.26	(4697) 1033.3	(4730) 460.6
RURAL	(53) 3.6	(5706) 387.7	(5759) 217.8
TOTAL	(86) 2.34	(10403) 283.3	(10489) 285.7
PERCENTAGE	(0.82)	(99.18)	(100)

With non-whites the majority of murders are intra-racial, only 0.82 percent of the non-white victims were killed by whites. There are no figures for the inter-racial murders between blacks, coloureds and Asians, which is problematic, as these figures would be able to show a more comprehensive pattern of the murder trends in the various communities.

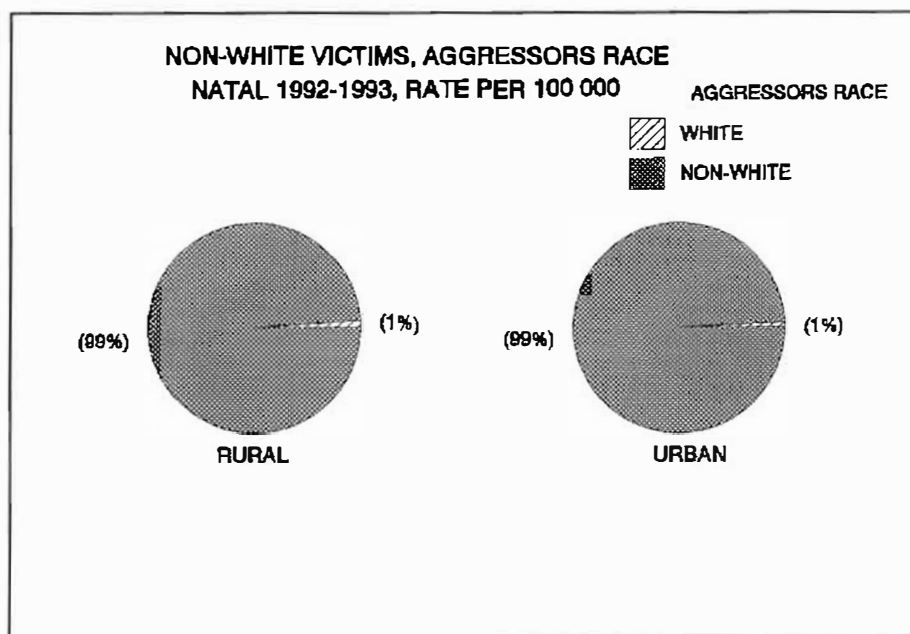


Figure 4: Non-White Victims, Aggressors Race, Rate per 100 000

When the non-white victim data is compared to the white victim data significant contrasts emerge. If there were high rates of inter-racial mixing, then one would expect that the pattern of non-white murder would be similar to the white murders, with a high level of inter-racial killing. However, this is not the case, as less than one percent of the non-whites murders are committed by whites.

White aggressors appear to be involved in a relatively higher percentage of inter-racial murders than non-white aggressors.

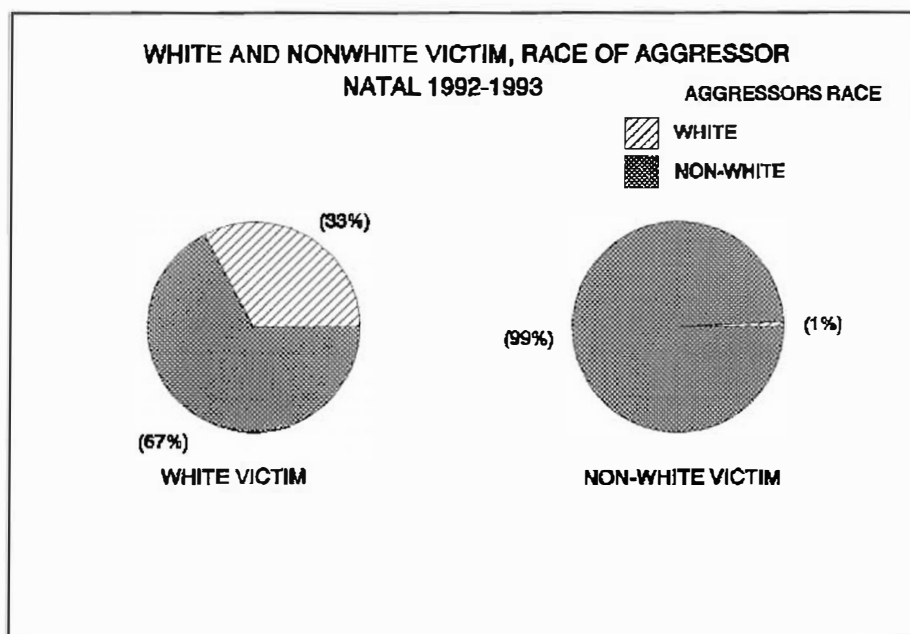


Figure 5: White and Non-white Victim, Race of Aggressor

A total of 64 white victims and 86 non-white victims were killed by white aggressors (42.67 % and 53.33 % respectively). If this is compared to the non-white aggressors, their victims constitute 132 white and 10403 non-white victims (1,25% and 98,74 % respectively). In the light of these figures it is difficult to say that the white population is being targeted by black aggressors. The white victim murder rates are but a minute amount in the larger pattern of murders in Natal. However, this is not to say that the racial pattern of the aggressor is insignificant. The white victim data shows that the white

population is at greater threat from outside their own racial group than from within it. This is in direct contrast to the non-white population groups, who are at greater risk from aggressors within their own racial group.

If the race of the aggressor is analysed, it can be seen that the white population kill more outside their race group than non-whites do. This is not to say that the white population are more of an inter-racial threat or more violent than any other racial group. This information must be placed in the context of who are the main aggressors against whites. Aggressors will have a greater chance of being killed than any other person, their victims will want to defend themselves and killing the original aggressor could well be part of this process. If it is assumed that the majority of white victim - black aggressor murders were linked to other crimes and not the result of petty reasons, then a certain amount of the white aggressor -black victim murders will be the result of the white aggressor defending him/herself. A situation wherein the aggressor becomes the victim, or as Wolfgang defines it "victim-precipitated criminal homicide"²⁷.

Blacks constitute 59.7 % of the aggressors for white victims, thus it should be expected that the whites would kill more blacks than whites. The groups that constitute the highest number of aggressors should also constitute highest number of victims. The

²⁷Wolfgang M.E. 1958, pg 245

problem that arises here is that no information is available for the cause of the murders. It is impossible to state whether or not the white aggressor ; non-white victim murders were the result of a petty argument, self-defence, or a politically or criminally linked or motivated act. If the motives were known, then this theory could be either proven or disproved, as one should see a relatively high number of victims being the original aggressors.

Urban - Rural Differences

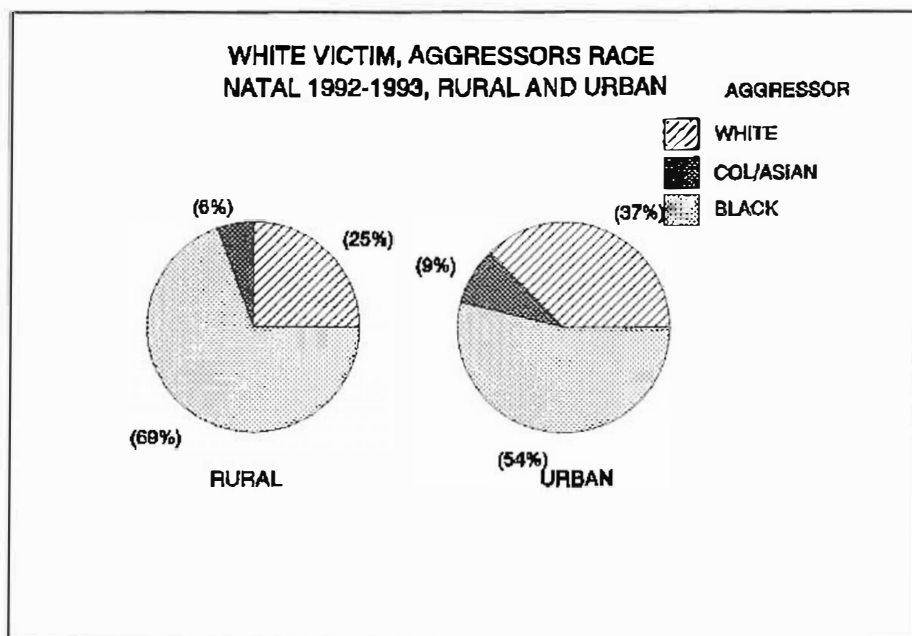


Figure 6: White Victim, Aggressors Race

The greater number of white victim murders occur in the urban areas, sixty-three percent, but if the murders figures are adjusted for the rate per 100 000 of the urban or rural population then the results are different. The white urban victim rates are only slightly higher than the rural rates, with a rate of 16.6 per 100 000 for the urban areas and 16.2 for rural. Thus there is little difference between the urban and rural areas for whites.

The white population of Natal is relatively low (594 865 at the last census²⁸), and a relatively low number of murders can change the rates. But even taking this into account, the rate that murders occur is extremely high in comparison with other countries, and the country as a whole.

The "white victim - white aggressor" rates are higher for the urban areas (6.17 urban to 4 rural), but the "white victim - black aggressor" rural rate is significantly higher than the urban rate (8.98 urban to 11.3 rural). The rate for "white victim - coloured/Asian aggressor" is extremely low for both rural and urban areas (1.5 urban, 0.9 rural).

In the rural areas the white victim : white aggressor murders are very low, consisting of only 25 % of the total white rural murders, while murder of white victims by Blacks aggressors is 69.4 % of the total. Although it is difficult to judge whether or not these murders were criminally or politically inspired, the C.A.I.C.I. report that the majority are linked with robbery, and are not politically motivated.²⁹ The higher rate in the rural areas must be linked to the political violence that has been occurring in Natal. The rural whites are more likely to become victims either directly or indirectly from this violence. The violence in rural Natal is of such a scale that a "spillover"

²⁸Central Statistical Services

²⁹C.A.I.C.I. 1993, pg 15

effect will occur, and whites will be targeted either for murder or robbery.

There is obviously little inter-racial social mixing and few violent crimes being committed by the coloureds and Asians against the white population group thus a lower rate of inter-racial violence and killing. Unfortunately, the S.A.P. murder records group all "non-white victim - non-white aggressor" cases together, so a breakdown of the "Coloured/Asian victim - Coloured/Asian aggressor" is not available. This data would have shown how violent those racial groups are, and assisted in analysing why the "white victim - Coloured/ Asian aggressor" is so low in comparison to the other categories. One can explain the low rate in that there is little mixing of the groups, and a low rate of violent criminal activity against the white population group and thus little chance for violence to occur between them.

Race of Aggressor and Victim

The most noticeable difference in inter-racial murders is between the "Coloured/Asian aggressor" and the "Black aggressor" with white victims. The population numbers for these race groups is relatively similar, with a total of 872 702 coloureds and Asians; they form 35.9 percent of the population, and 963 187 blacks, or 39.6 percent (whites constitute 24.5 percent)³⁰.

The murder rates for white victims is considerably different, with only 7.7 percent of white victims being killed by Asians or coloureds, while 59.7 percent are killed by blacks. This difference is significant as it clearly demonstrates marked differences between the two population groups and their activities. The question that must be raised is this: is violent crime committed by the black population groups on a greater scale, can they be viewed as a violent sub-culture or culture ?

The white victim : white aggressor murders are low in number, and are more in line with the rates in Europe. These murders can be viewed as more "normal" murders, not influenced by politics in the same direct manner as the black victim murders.

³⁰Central Statistical Services Census pp 43

Analysing the figures from a purely racial standpoint is not only dangerous, but also ignores the complexities that are present in the Natal and South African society. That non-whites commit a very high number of murders, and are themselves the victims of the vast majority of these acts cannot be disputed. However, the non-white population must be analysed from more than just a racial perspective, but also from an economic, political and social one. They form an underclass in the society, they form the communities whom the state has directly dispossessed, deprived and marginalised. They are most at risk of committing deviant acts, and being the victims of deviance.

The extremely high numbers must also be viewed in the context of the low-scale war that is occurring in Natal between various political factions. The effects of this political struggle for power and land would not have been restricted to the people directly fighting, but increased the levels of violence and fear of violence generally within the communities.

The racial divide in the South African and Natal society reflects far more than race, but also access to varying coping strategies, education, employment, and community stability.

Weapon Type, Race and Place

The type of weapon used in the murders has significance as it shows the effect, if any, that the availability of firearms has upon the pattern of murder. It also shows the differences between the urban and rural areas in the choice of weapon. The differences could be based on the availability of the weapon, its ease of concealment, availability of ammunition, etc.

White Victim - Weapon Type

PLACE	SMALL ARMS	RIFLE	HIGH CALIBRE	OTHER	TOTALS
URBAN	(58)7.78	(6)0.8	(6) 0.8	(54)7.2	(124) 16.6
RURAL	(32)7.2	(3) 0.68	(9) 2	(28)6.3	(72)16.2
TOTAL	(90)7.59	(9) 0.76	(15) 1.27	(82)6.9	(196) 16.5
PERCENT	(45.9)	(4.6)	(7.7)	(41.8)	(100)

The most noticeable statistic is the high usage of small arms in white victim murders (45.9 %), they are used more often than any other form of weapon for killing whites. This must reflect not only the number of small arms available, but also the scale at which they are carried. Gun use is prevalent, in the urban

areas guns are used in 56.5 % of the cases, while in the rural areas the figure is 61 %. These figures reflect the high level of ownership, as well as availability of firearms in this country. Unfortunately, there is no data as to the precise ownership of the weapon, whether it belongs to the aggressor or to the victim, or if it is a stolen or home-made weapon. The type of weapon used will also be linked in some way to the motive for the murder. It is more likely for a firearm to be used in a robbery than in a domestic dispute.

Race of Aggressor and Weapon Type

If the data is broken down further into a racial as well as weapon classification, the following is shown: (White victim with: W=White; C=Coloured/Asian; B=Black aggressor)

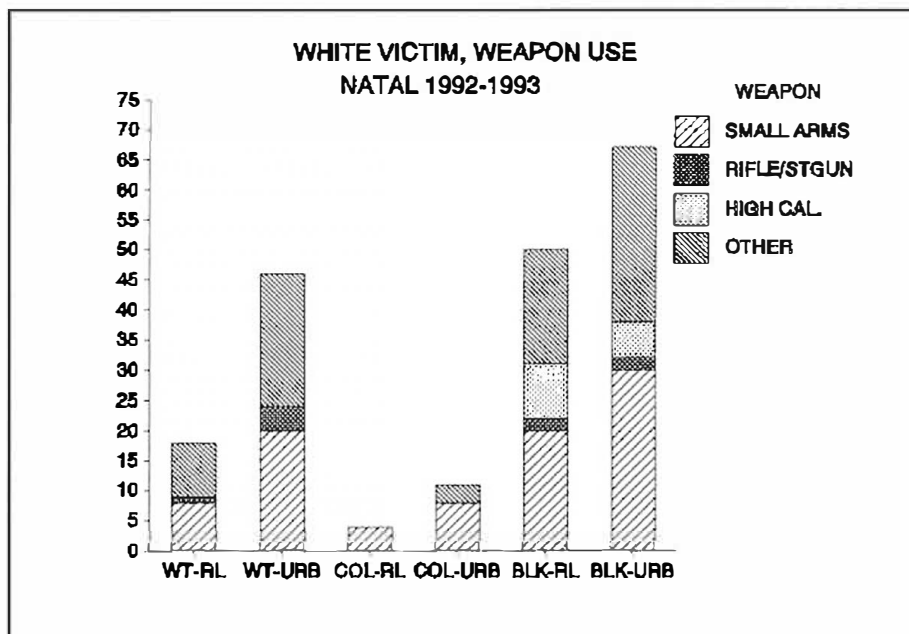


Figure 7: White Victim, Weapon Use

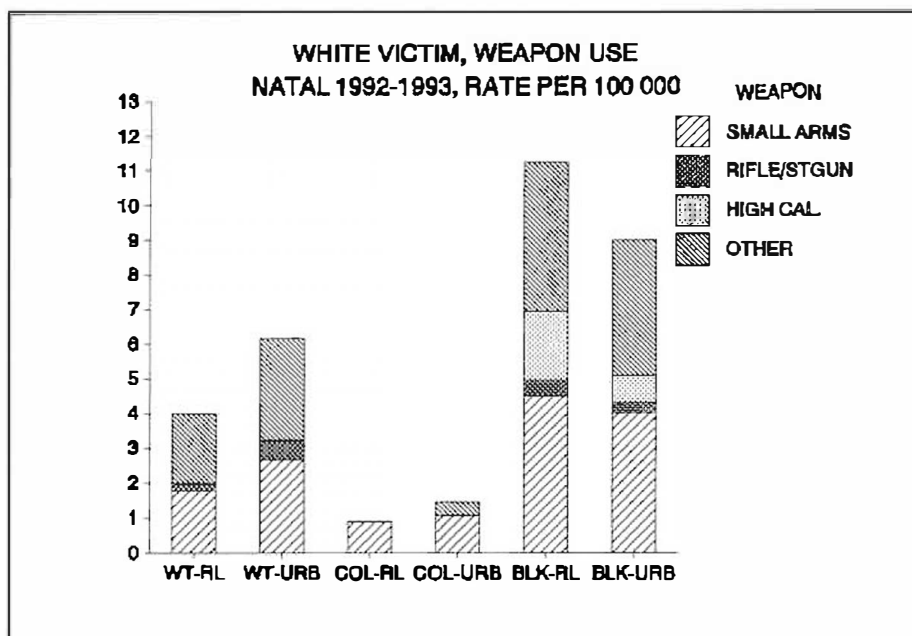


Figure 8: White Victim, Weapon Use - Rate per 100 000

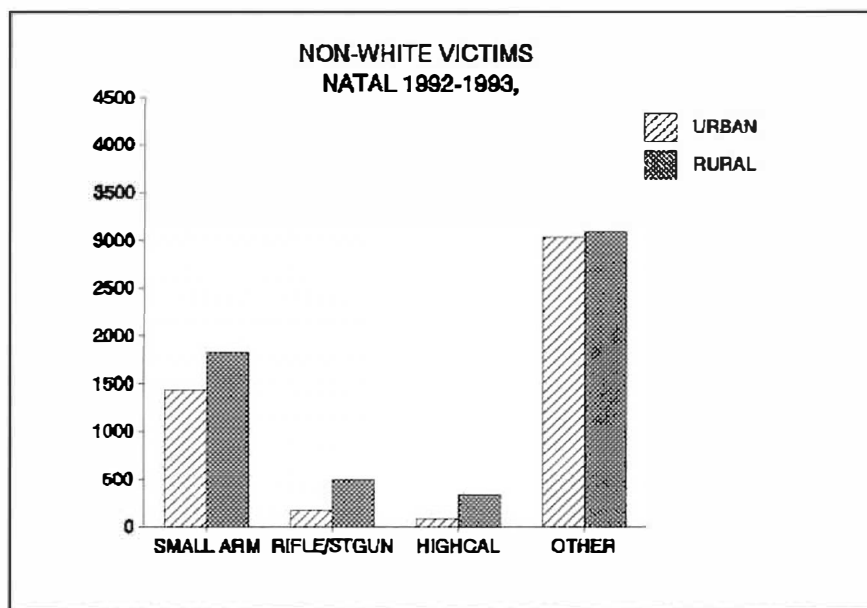


Figure 9: Non-White Victims Natal

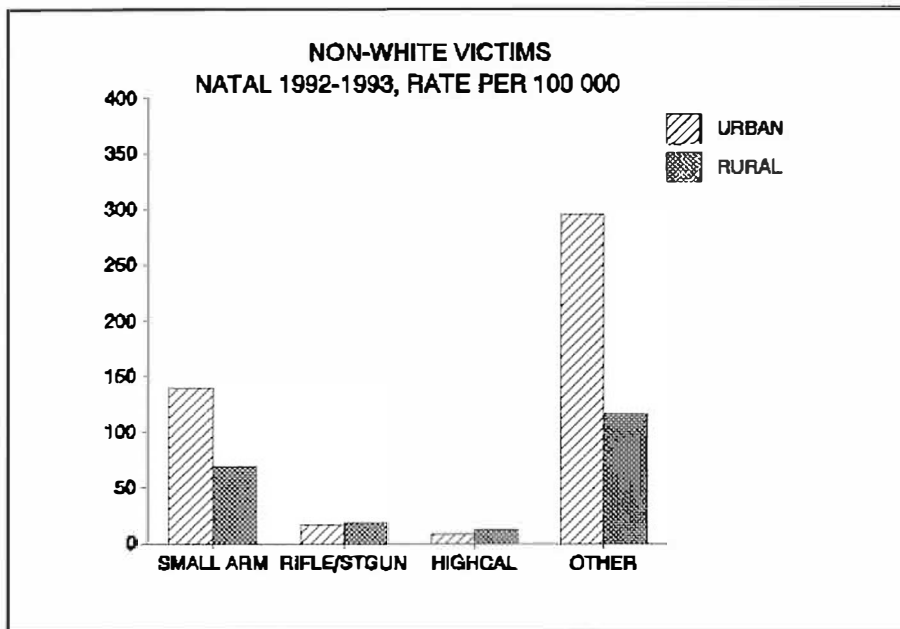


Figure 10: Non-White Victims, Natal, Rate per 100

000

If the totals for all types of firearms are taken the results are as follows :

White Victim - Total Weapon Type

RACE AND PLACE	TOTAL FIREARMS	TOTAL OTHER WEAPONS
W-W: RURAL	(9) 2	(9) 2
URBAN	(24) 3.2	(22) 2.95
W-C: RURAL	(4) 0.9	(0) 0
URBAN	(8) 1.07	(3) 0.4
W-B: RURAL	(31) 6.99	(19) 4.28
URBAN	(38) 5.09	(29) 3.89
TOTALS: RURAL	(44) 9.9	(28) 6.3
URBAN	(70) 9.4	(54) 7.2
COMPLETE TOTALS	(114) 9.58	(82) 6.9

From the data one can see that there is a rural - urban difference in the type of weapon used. The most significant of these is the use of high calibre weapons, ie assault rifle - A.K. 47, G3, etc : of all white victims killed by a high calibre weapon Blacks were the aggressor, and the majority (eighteen out of twenty one cases) were in the rural areas. This can be related to the situation in the rural areas, with a war type situation occurring.

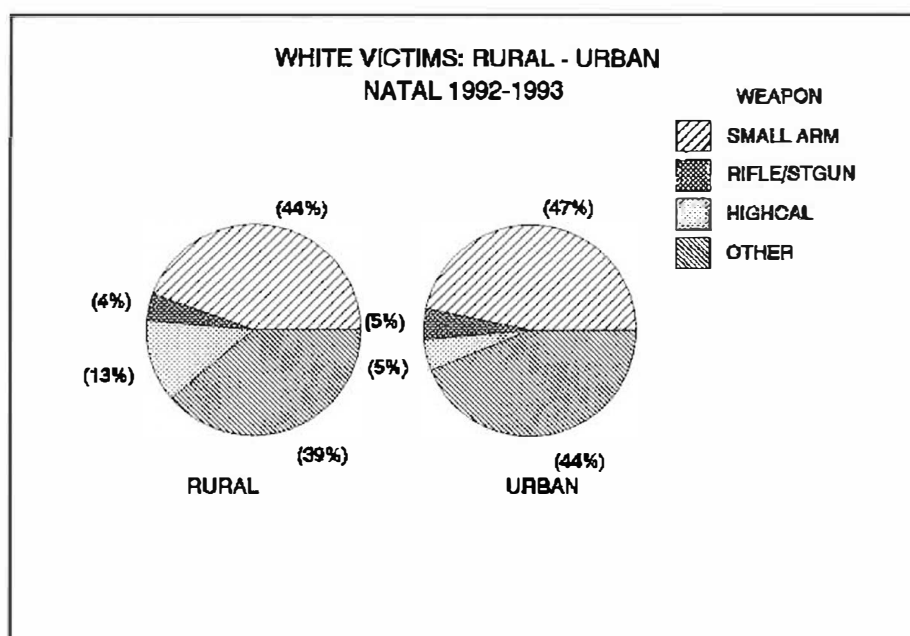


Figure 11: White Victims, Rural/Urban Natal, Weapon Use

As can be seen from the data firearms play an extremely large role in white deaths. The difference between the rural and urban areas is not pronounced, except for the use of high calibre weapons. This can be explained through the political fighting that is occurring in the rural areas of Natal, and the use of high calibre weapons by members of the warring parties. A spillover effect into white murders has to be expected.

Non-White Victims, Weapon Use

AREA	FIREARM	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	(2667) 100.8	(3092) 116.9	(5729) 216.6
URBAN	(1697) 165.2	(3033) 295.3	(4669) 454.6
TOTAL	(4364) 118.85	(6125) 166.8	(10489) 285.7

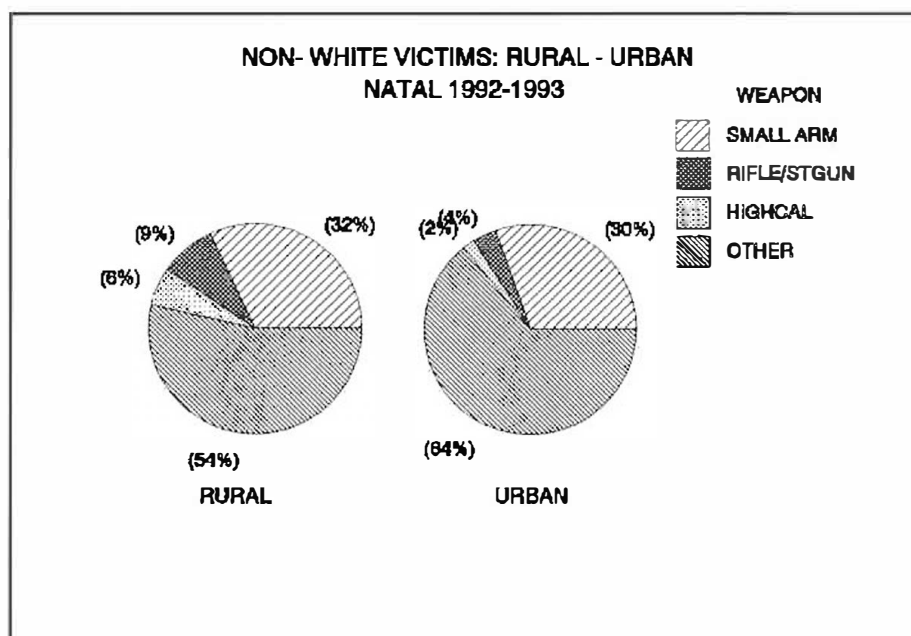


Figure 12: Non-White Victims, Natal, Rural/Urban, Weapon Use

The data shows a significant difference in weapon use for non-white victims as oppose to white victims. Firearms are not the most used weapon in non-white murders, they comprise only 41.6 percent of the weapons used in all non-white murders. The majority of non-white victims get killed with "Other" weapons, such as knives, pangas, etc.

In the urban areas there is an even greater difference in weapon use, with firearms being used in 36.4 percent of non-white murders, as oppose to 46.3 percent in the rural areas. This difference in weapon use must in some way reflect upon the nature of the motive for the murder. If these murders are compared to the pattern of weapon against white victims, then the differences are stark. It should be expected that the non-white victims are killed with a high number of firearms, as white victims are. This is not the case, and thus one can assume to some extent that either the motives or the aggressors are different for the white and non-white victims.

The high level of firearm usage in the killing of white victims is a factor that is important to consider. More whites were killed with firearms than any other means. The large numbers of murder victims killed by firearms could be connected to the high number of firearms that are owned by the white population. This being the case, the robber will be more willing to kill the

robbery victim, as they will not want to get killed in turn by their victim, who may well be armed.

If one considers and compares the white with the non-white murder rates for Natal, a very violent picture emerges. The non-white murder rates are extremely high, with rates per 100 000 of 216.6 for the rural areas, and 454.6 for the urban areas. These figures are however not accurate, as the murders and the population for the Kwa-Zulu areas are not recorded. Thus these figures could slant either way when taking into account Kwa-Zulu. But even if these rates were halved, the resultant figure is extremely high, and makes the white murder rate pale into insignificance.

The role of the weapon is important in the analysis of the pattern and type of murders being committed. It can be assumed that the motives, or at least the aggressor will be different for the murders committed by firearms, and those committed by "Other" weapons. In the context of the political struggle that has been and is occurring in Natal, the use of firearms is an instant method of gaining power over others. It is also an easy tool to use in robbery.

The differing incidence of weapon use between white and non-white victims is significant, and in some way reflects the differing structures, stresses and threats that the different racial groups

are subject to. The use of a weapon is increasingly emersed in the political fray, and is becoming a norm rather than an exception.

The non-white victim data shows that firearms are not that much of an overwhelming factor if the total murders for Natal are taken into consideration. It is difficult to predict what would happen if the number of firearms available were reduced or eliminated in number. The level of violence would not necessarily decrease, but the means to kill someone easily would be curtailed. A more significant factor would be altering the underlying motives for the violence - the economic and social inequalities that are present.

Monthly Distribution of Homicides

It has been shown by various authors from Wolfgang (1958) to Harries (1990) that homicide rates differ according to the month of the year. In the U.S.A. and Britain this is connected to the weather, in that more murders are committed in the summer months than in the winter. The reasons of this happening are fairly obvious, there is more activity in the summer, more people interact than in the winter. Due to the low temperatures in the European and U.S.A. winters there is less social interaction, and thus fewer homicides.³¹

In South Africa however, these theories do not hold true. The murder rates do alter from month to month, however applying the principle of cold or warm weather does not work. To begin with the weather in South Africa is not of a similar nature to that of the U.S.A. or Britain. The temperature and weather change from summer to winter, although large, does not severely affect the individual's mobility, as the winters do in the northern hemisphere.

The distribution of Natal murders on a monthly basis is a more complex process. The political situation having a greater influence upon the creation of a high risk environment for homicide than the weather will.

³¹See Harries 1990, Wolfgang 1958

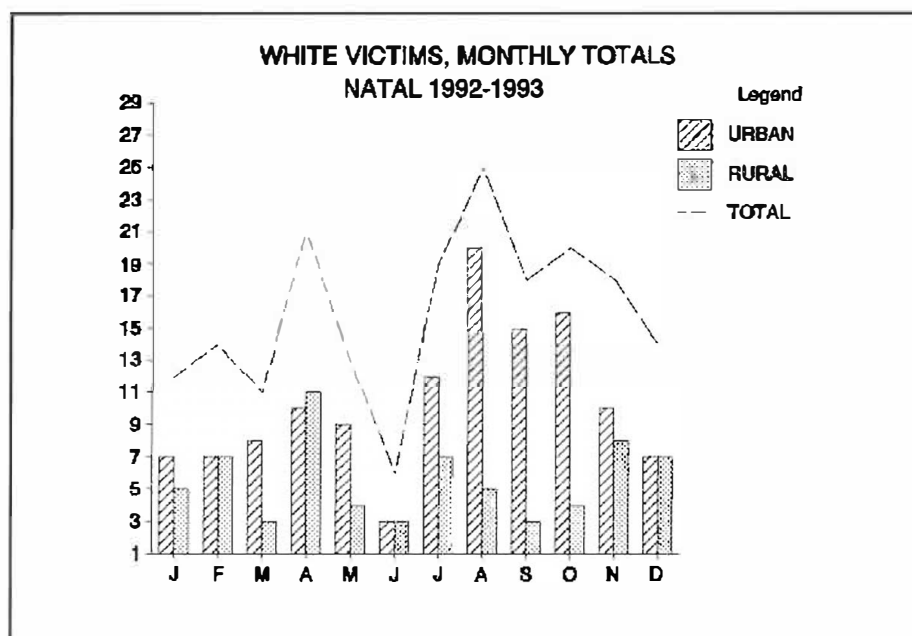


Figure 13: White Victims, Natal, Monthly Totals

As can be seen from the white-victim trends, there appears to be no general pattern that fits into any weather pattern. These patterns do not fit into the national monthly distribution for the whole country. Neither do they correspond to the non-white murder patterns for Natal.

It must be taken into consideration that the weather in Natal does not change to any great extent over the year. At no time is mobility severely restricted due to temperature, only the rain

would have any effect, and that usually for only limited periods of a few hours.

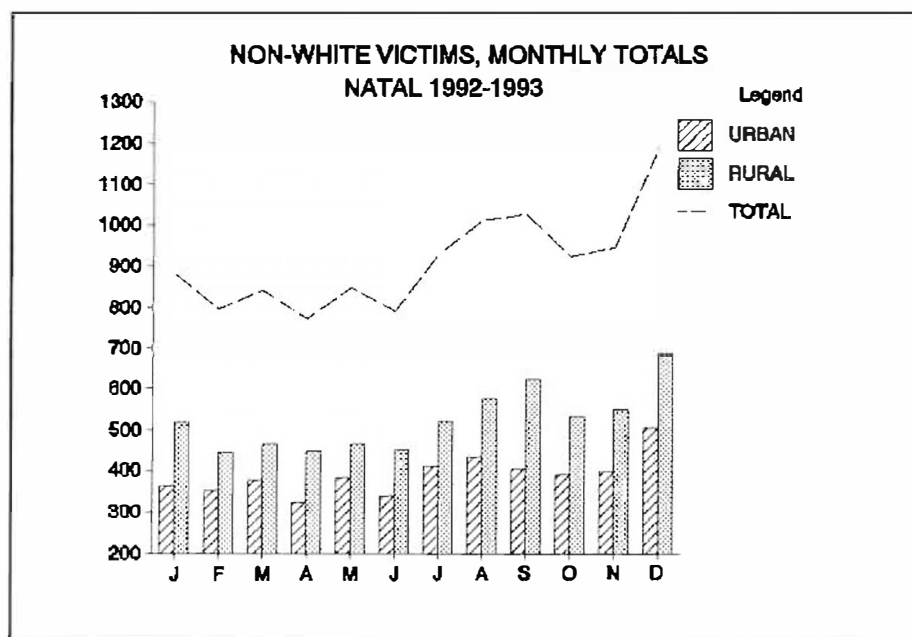


Figure 14: Non-White Victims, Natal, Monthly Totals

For the national trend in white murder, there is a more logical pattern than for the Natal region. The murder average totals are highest in December, July and August (15,58 ; 14,41 ; 14,08), and lowest in April, September and January (10,75 ; 11,05 ; 11,25). The mean white murder total for all months from 1983 to 1990 is 12,61.

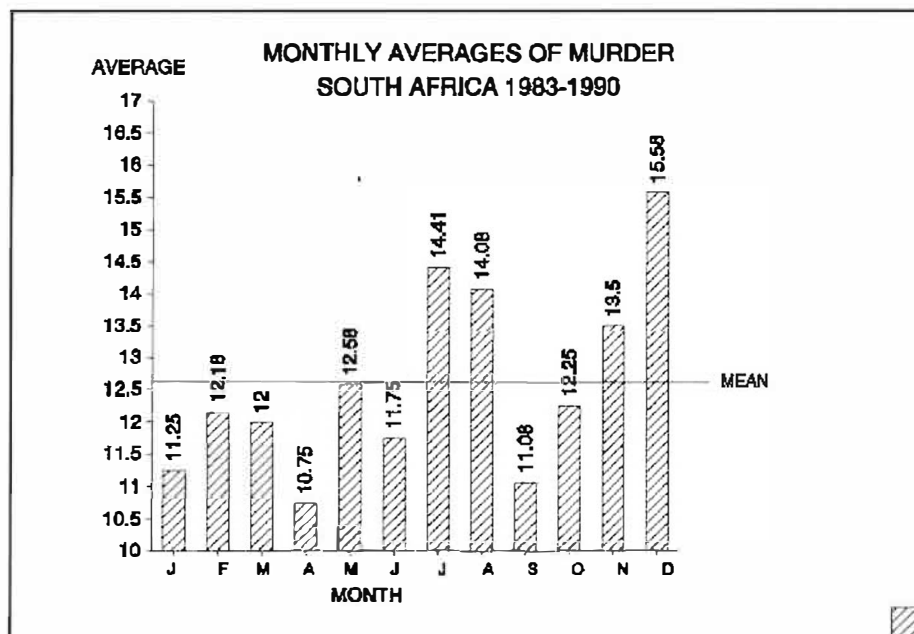


Figure 15: White Victims, South Africa, Monthly Totals, 1983-1990

The high in December can be explained by the increase in social mixing and alcohol intake over the Christmas holidays as well as an increase in the number of viable victims for robbery. The high levels in July and August are more difficult to explain. These are cold months, but the winter in South Africa does not really restrict the mobility of people as it does in the northern hemisphere. The temperature rarely falls below zero celsius, and snow does not play much of a role in restricting mobility as it is restricted to mountainous areas, with low population numbers. The only real restriction is during the rainy season which occurs from October to March, except in the Cape where it occurs from

May to September. But even the rain does not restrict mobility on a consistent basis.

The high rates in July and August cannot be explained by weather patterns or temperature. The low rates in April and September are similarly difficult to explain. They occur in the autumn and the end of winter, the individual's mobility restricted by neither weather nor temperature. Another factor to be considered is that April has the Easter holiday, which if taking other public holidays into account, such as Christmas, should help to increase the murder rate but this does not seem to be the case.

The non-white murders in Natal appear to follow the national white murder trend, rather than the white Natal pattern.

One possible reason for the apparent lack of logical pattern in the Natal white pattern is that the numbers of murders are low, and thus one or two murders can alter the pattern considerably. But even this is not a very good explanation. The white pattern does not show any link to weather patterns.

The non-white murders can be explained in part, in the same manner that the national distribution is explained, with the similar highs over the December period. But again the problem arises over the highs in July and August, but with the non-white Natal homicides the role of the political fighting must be taken

into consideration as a very strong factor in the altering of the rates of homicide.

It can be thus theorised that weather does not play a significant role in the creation of a high risk homicide environment. The only significant monthly influence would be the Christmas period, with increased intake of alcohol, greater social interaction and a greater number of potential victims for robbery.

The rest of the pattern is more difficult to explain, and consideration must be taken of the political situation and low key war in Natal, which influences the murder rates both directly through politically motivated killings, and indirectly.

Analysis of S.A.P. Data for September and October 1993

This data is composed of more detailed murder reports for Natal from the S.A.P. for the months of September and October 1993, it is included to provide a backing set of data for analysis and comparison to the core Natal data. The data is in a more detailed form than the S.A.P. 6 data, however it does not record all the murders that occurred in those months. Data was only available for analysis for these two months.

This data also demonstrates the difficulties that are encountered in research into murder, with the relatively small amounts of information available that are at times contradictory. The limited depth that is provided by the S.A.P.6 forms is only able to provide a relatively limited amount of information. This new data collection is aimed at acquiring greater information about the trends and types of murder that are occurring in order to better understand their nature.³² This data also shows the efficiency of the S.A.P. in solving murders, as well as an indication of the types of murders that are occurring in the province.

Data was obtained for the Natal region (excluding Kwa-Zulu) for the months of September and October 1993 in a detailed form from the S.A.P. C.A.I.C.I. (Durban).

³²Personal interview Major D. Moon, C.A.I.C.I., 1994

It has only been in the last two years that data has been collected on a regional basis, and even this data is not a true and completely true reflection of the murder trends in Natal, as it is dependent upon the accuracy and willingness of the local police stations to fill in the necessary forms and to send them to the regional headquarters. This data is collected on different forms from the S.A.P. 6 forms, providing more detail in some areas, but less in others.

The main problem with this data is that it relies on the willingness of the individual station commanders to fill in the forms correctly. There are inconsistencies within each form, with murder totals changing from field to field. This is the result of incorrect completion of the forms by the local police station commander. Out of the 496 murders that occurred in October 1993, only 152 have been properly analysed, a loss of 60% of the cases. In the month of September 1993, 480 murders occurred, however only 317 of them were properly recorded, a loss of 34 %. It is therefore impossible to make firm analysis of the data provided, but some trends can be seen.

Due to the confidentiality and limited nature of the data it is difficult to make assumptions about it, or to analyse any major trends. The other problem is that all the data is combined, with no break down of the individual murders into the race of victim and their aggressor, the type of weapon that the aggressor used,

etc. Instead all the data is broadly categorised into major areas of race of victim, race of aggressor, time of murder, weapon used, etc. However, it is useful in comparing to the research from the U.S.A., particularly in regard to the time and relationship between the victim and aggressor. It is also useful in providing a further source for murder rates and trends, in order to provide a more detailed, but limited data.

Data for Natal, September and October 1993

For the months of September and October 1993 976 people were murdered in Natal. Of these only 469 were recorded, ie 48 %. The following data and analysis has been taken from these murders.

Time and Day of Death

Murders are recorded for either the six am to six pm period, or six pm to six am period, which does not supply any great detail for analysis. 278 murders occurred between six pm and six am (59.3%), 157 between six am and six pm (33.5), for the remaining 34 (7.2%), the time of death was not known. This pattern is expected as more people are socially active in the evenings, and generally the work place is not a high risk area. As people are more active in the evenings, there is a greater chance of confrontations, and violence.

The majority of deaths occurred on the weekend (Friday, Saturday, Sunday - 246 deaths or 52,5 %), with Saturday having the highest death rate (111 total or 23,7 %). This relates to the day-evening patterns, with more people being socially active in these days than during the week.

Place of Death

150 (32 %) murders occurred inside the home, 299 (64) outside the home, for the remaining 20 cases no information is given.

Weapon Used

Firearms were used in 302 (64 %) of the murders, knives in 34 %. This goes against the S.A.P. 6 data, which showed that for the 1992-1993 period firearms were used in 41.9 % of cases, no data for knives alone was available. This drop in numbers could be accounted for by a small monthly variation.

Age, Race and Sex of Victim

There is no combined race and sex breakdown given, only separately. Blacks were the majority of victims (434 or 88 %), followed by Asians (31 or 6,3%), whites (21 or 4,3 %) and coloureds (6 or 1%).

Males were the majority of the victims forming eighty six percent of the total (423 males, 69 females).

Seventy percent of victims were between the ages of twenty and fifty years (289). Unfortunately there is no greater breakdown of age groups in the S.A.P. statistics. This is problematic as it does not give a highly accurate reflection of murder trends. An age breakdown along the lines of the Central Statistical Service, ie five year periods, would have been a more accurate and useful method.

Race of Victims and Aggressors

The data has only been broken down into these categories for October (152 murders recorded), no such information is available before this.

RACE	VICTIM	AGGRESSOR	PROSECUTED
WHITE	13	12	3
BLACK	136	109	15
ASIAN	23	7	3
COLOURED	3	3	3
UNKNOWN		75	
GROUPS		3	

The similar numbers of victims and aggressors within each race group can be seen as showing the level of intra-racial murders

occurring. In contrast to these results are the other S.A.P. data from 1992-1993, which show a very different pattern for white homicide, with a high rate of black aggressors. However, this present data does not give any data on the precise victim-aggressor relationship or racial balance.

Sex of Victims and Aggressors

This data is only for the month of October 1993, as complete data is not available for September 1993.

With the sex of the victim and aggressor, a normal pattern can be seen:

SEX	VICTIM	AGGRESSOR	PROSECUTED
MALE	152	131	24
FEMALE	23	0	0

Males committed all of the murders for this period, (there are however seventy five unknown aggressors, as well as three as of groups engaged in committing murders, the sexual balance of these groups is not known) and constituted 88.6 % of the victims.

This data fits in with the expected patterns of murder, with males killing and dying the most.

The data based on the number of prosecutions made are not as accurate as one would hope. For the one hundred and fifty two murders in October, only twenty four aggressors were arrested, ie. an arrest and prosecution rate of 15,8 %. From this amount of data it is almost dangerous to make any assumptions or generalisations. The inferences that can be made from this is more about the effectiveness of the S.A.P. rather than any general trends in the nature of the aggressor, or the relationship between the victim and the aggressor.

Analysis of Data

This data is weak, and is not accurate enough to make any concrete analysis. However, some trends can be seen, particularly with regard to the race and sex of the victim and aggressor. A very definite sex difference exists between the aggressor and the victim, particularly as there are no female aggressors, only victims. The majority of victims are however male, but this sex difference fits into the research from the USA and Europe, with the male being the more likely to be an aggressor and victim in homicides.

The weapons used do not fit with the core data for 1992 - 1993, showing a higher use of firearms. However, one must take into consideration the fluctuating political violence that was occurring in the region, and thus monthly variations must be

expected in death totals as well as weapon use. Also the high level of "lost" data could account for much of this discrepancy.

The main information that can be gained from this data is the lack of data that the S.A.P. have to deal with. Arrest rates are extremely low, and the data that has been provided does not deal with 52 % of the murders that were reported to the S.A.P. This loss of information means that no accurate analysis can be made of the data, only vague assumptions. The dependence upon the willingness of the local S.A.P. station commander to fill in a form accurately and on time has resulted in a vast gap of lost data, without which no final analysis can be generated.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AGE, SEX AND OCCUPATION OF WHITE VICTIMS,
SOUTH AFRICA 1983- 1990

The following data on the age and sex of white victims, as well as their occupation has been included in order to provide some wider scope and deeper levels of data for the general study of homicide in Natal. It is useful in providing some insight into the deeper structures of the status of the victim.

This type of information is lacking in the Natal data, and can only be obtained through the Central Statistical Services data for the entire country. In order to find out this level of data from the S.A.P. individual murder dockets have to be analysed, these are unfortunately sealed, and require the permission of the Minister of Home Affairs to open them.

Data for the years 1992-1993 was not available from the Central Statistical Service, and thus an assumption must be made that the type of victim has not altered from the 1983-1990 period to that in 1992-1993. It must also be assumed that the type of victim in Natal will be similar in status, age and sex to the victim in the rest of the country.

These assumptions are problematic, as changes in the nature of murder could well have altered, particularly if the link between

the political occurrences in the country and murder rates and patterns are assumed to be linked.

Data from the Central Statistical Service only contain information about the victim, and not the aggressor. Thus, this data is limited in its scope.

Age and Sex of the White Victim

Age and murder are linked. Research from Wolfgang (1958) to Harries (1990) has shown that there are certain groups in the population who are more at risk of becoming a victim of murder. Wolfgang's work showed that they were males aged between twenty and twenty nine years ³³, or in more recent research by Harries the high risk group were males aged between fifteen and thirty four years.³⁴ The people in these groups are also most at risk of becoming aggressors, the victim and aggressor both being products of their place in the society. The data for white South Africans shows little variation.

The data shows a relatively normal distribution of white murders, with the most murder victims are between the ages of twenty and forty years for male and female. The male totals are significantly higher than the female totals, the male peak being 20.375 in the twenty to twenty-five age groups and the female peak being 6.25 in both the thirty to thirty-five and thirty-five to forty age groups.

³³Wolfgang, 1958, pp 65

³⁴Harries 1990, pg 16

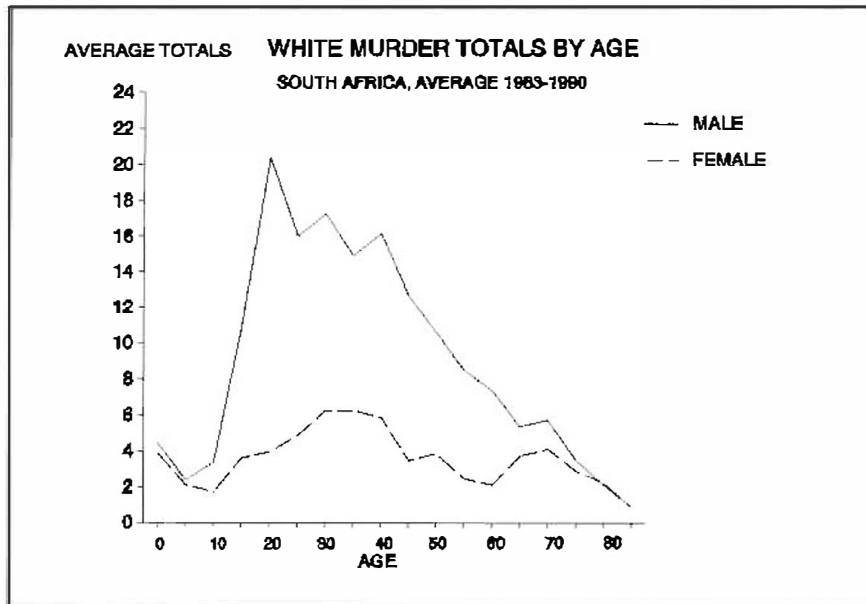


Figure 16: White Victims, South Africa 1983-90
Age Distribution

35

Males murders peak in the twenty to twenty-five year groups, while females peak in the thirty to forty year group. The male peak is relatively straight forward to explain, as the males in this age group will be more likely to be engaged in high risk activities and spend time in high risk areas. They will be more likely to engage in violent behaviour, as their physical strength will allow them to do so. Their social ties to the community and its norm structures will not be as strong as older groups. While

³⁵Gathered from Central Statistical Service

those younger than twenty years will generally be occupied in educational institutions, thus opportunity will not be available.

The female peak from thirty to forty is more difficult to explain. The females could be the victims of their spouses and the attacks taking place in the home, rather than strangers and the murders taking place outside the home. But this does not give any sort of full explanation of the occurrence, and why it does not occur at an earlier stage.

The later female peak from sixty to seventy can be explained by the fact that they are easy targets for robbery and assault, they will also be physically weaker at that age, and thus recovery from physical attack will be reduced and therefore death can more easily occur.

When the rates of murder per 100 000 of the population are taken into consideration, a different picture emerges. The normal distribution pattern is altered, with a maintenance of the homicide rate from the peaks in the twenty to thirty age group.

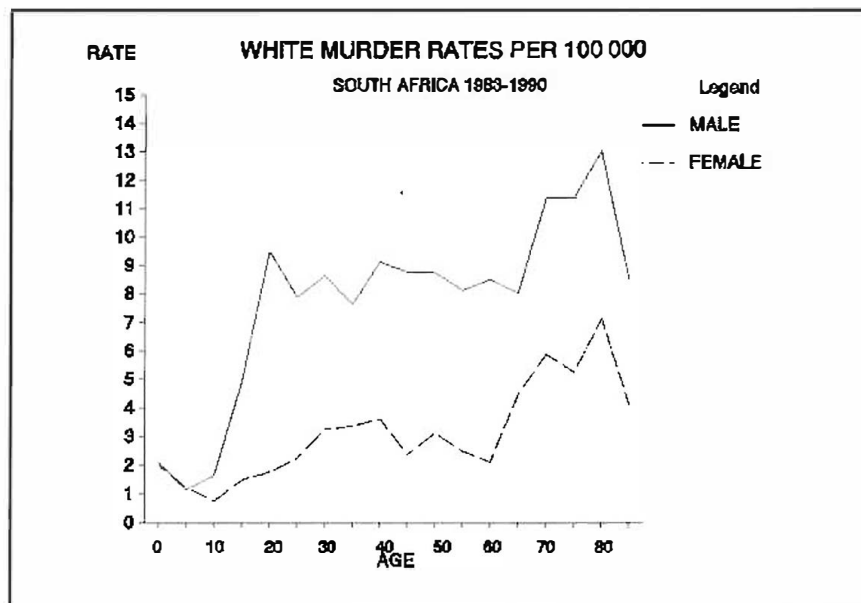


Figure 17: White Victims, South Africa, Rates per 100 000

36

The rate of murder is a more accurate reflection of the true nature of the relationship between age and murder. With males the rate data shows that there is a peak at twenty years of age, similar to the total murders. Instead of the decline shown in the graph for the total number of murders, there is relatively little decline in the rate from the peak, and that it stays relatively stable until the seventy year group.

For females the rate peak is in the forty to forty-five age group, similar to the total murders. The second peak in the sixty-five to eighty age group is, however, significantly higher

³⁶Gathered from Central Statistical Service

than in the total murder data. This can be explained by the decrease in numbers of the population after the age of sixty-five. The average mortality age is sixty eight years for males and seventy five years for females.³⁷

Connected with this is that the aged are more easy targets for robbery and other crimes against the person. Robberies are frequently connected with assault, and the aged are less likely to be able to survive an assault as well as a younger person.

The C.A.I.C.I. reports show that there has been an increase in the number of attacks upon the elderly in the 1992-1993 period. These attacks are generally linked with other crimes, the victim being killed to ensure that the attacker/robber/ rapist is not identified. The C.A.I.C.A. postulate that the reasons that the aged are attacked is that they are easy targets, as they are often wealthy, do not have the necessary strength to defend themselves.³⁸ The elderly allow themselves to become victims as can be seen by the C.A.I.C.I. data that shows that of the attacks on the elderly in 1992 that took place in their homes, only 216 of these involved a forced entry into the home by the aggressor, the rest were unforced entry, the victim willingly let them inside the house.³⁹

³⁷Central Statistical Service, 1991

³⁸C.A.I.C.I., 1993, pg 25

³⁹C.A.I.C.I., 1993, pg 24

Murder involves the actions of the aggressor as well as the victim, both must in a way place themselves in the situation wherein the murder or attack will occur. The victim is not uninvolved in the creation of themselves as a victim. The individual can do much to increase their chances of becoming or not becoming a victim. The aged and young adult males assist in this process by their behaviour, and their ability to alter their immediate environment. Age is not a separate factor in murder, but interconnected with other factors such as economic power, other situational factors.

Occupation of the White Victim

Occupation type is more than an economic indicator, it shows to some extent the persons education and societal status level, as well as a fairly accurate pointer for who is more at risk from violent attack and crime.

Occupation determines not only one's status in the society, but also where one is able to live, what opportunities in the social, political and economic fields one is able to gain access to. It can be used as a rough guide to determine the individual's social position in the society. Those with white collar employment will be generally placed in a higher status and economic position in the society than those with blue collar jobs.

The occupation of the individual shows to some extent their level of education and status in the society. Research by Crutchfield (1989), McClain (1984), Rosenfeld (1986) and Sampson (1987) all show that occupation and employment are determining factors in the creation of a high or low risk social environment for crime and violence. The decrease of social controls, lack of reinforcement of norms and values in the home, weakening of ties to the community, and the resultant weakening of the community structure all leads to the creation of an unstable social environment, where deviance is not restricted, and violence can thus occur.

Crutchfield (1989) suggests that the link between the level of violence and employment is due to the structure and stability of the community, as well as the increased number of underemployed males - thus a high number of potential victims and aggressors in the community. However, this theory is difficult to translocate to the South African situation, as there are several, almost separate, communities based along racial lines. These racial lines follow to some extent economic lines, but this is not true for all communities. The economic disruption in one community will effect the other, and the society as a whole. The increase in crime in the less economically strong or stable will affect the levels of fear of attack in the other communities, and thus affect the level of general risk of violence occurring in the whole society.

For the economically active their occupations have been broadly grouped by the Central Statistical Service into nine broad categories:

1. Professional, semi-professional and technical
2. Managerial, executive and administrative
3. Clerical and sales
4. Transport, delivery and communications
5. Service
6. Farming and related occupations
7. Artisan, apprentice and related occupations
8. Production supervisor, miner, quarry and related worker

9. Occupations unspecified

These categories are not as specific as is needed for a highly accurate study to be done. Within each field there is room for a wide range of education levels, social status and economic wealth. The second problem is that there is no information available for the occupation of the aggressor, which would be vital in the determination of an accurate study of which sectors of the society are most at risk, as well as showing an accurate pattern of whether the homicides are inter or intra-community.

It has to be assumed that the occupation categories do follow to some level the education and status level of the individual, as well as showing their economic and social power.

If the categories for "Professional", "Managerial" and "Clerical" are categorised as white collar or primary occupations, and the rest of the occupation categorised as blue collar or secondary occupations, a marked difference can be seen in the rates for murders. All the primary groups are well below the average rate for white victim murder with rates of 2.8, 3.14 and 3.9. The rates for the secondary occupations range from 4.6 for "Transport" to 10.08 for "Mining". The "Unspecified Occupations" category has the highest rate of homicide with 20.03.

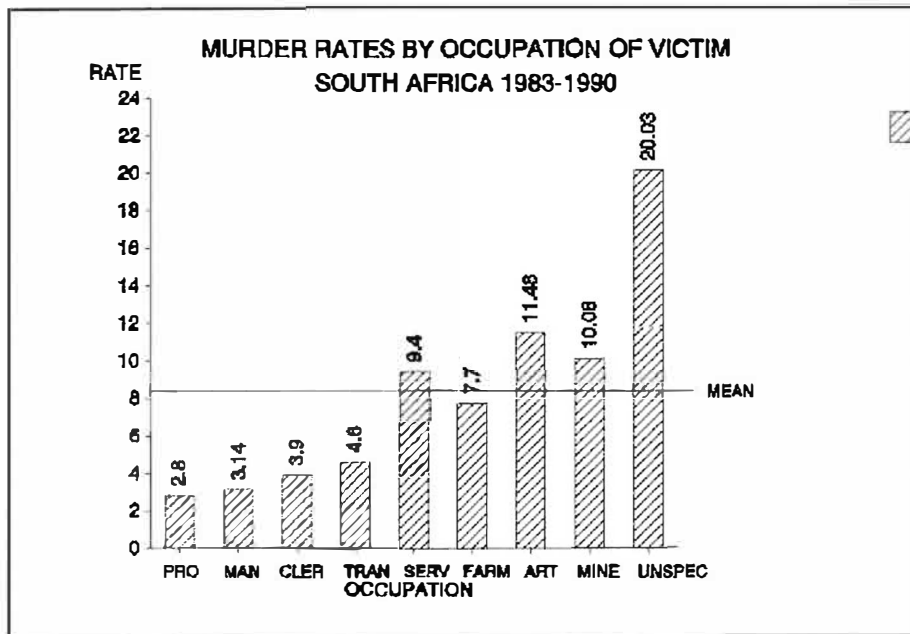


Figure 18: White Victim, South Africa, Occupation

40

These results support the theory that the secondary occupations will have a higher homicide rate. The factors here however are more than just the type of occupation. Linked with occupation type is the level of education - the white collar occupations should have a greater level of education. This is not to glibly assume that those with a higher education will be less violent, but those with greater education will generally have a wider range of opportunities both economically and socially to alter their lifestyle and geographic position. They will be able to take greater precautions against violent or criminal attack, they will also be able to move out of high risk areas into safer

⁴⁰Gathered from Central Statistical Service

locations, leaving those with less economic wealth behind in the high risk areas.

With the blue collar and unspecified occupations the level of employment stability and community structure will be less balanced due too the nature of their employment, and they will be generally at greater risk due to the areas in which they live. These factors will add stress onto the individual and the community at large. They will have little access to coping or escape mechanisms from the stresses and threats in the community and workplace. There will be a more unsteady community, less stable, with fewer ties to the community.

In the changing political situation those in the secondary occupations will be most at risk from any political change that will affect the economic structure of the society. The apartheid policies in the past had assured some measure of economic security for the white population. This is now rapidly changing, and as the political instability increases, so too does the economic instability, particularly for those in secondary occupations. This will be a strong stressor that will be placed not only on the individual, but also on the community as a whole. The actions of those in the secondary occupations will affect the entire society, whether directly by their actions of taking more protection, acting more violently, or indirectly through increasing the levels of fear and uncertainty in the society.

Unfortunately no information is available for the occupation of the aggressor. This information would show to some extent the links between the victim and aggressor.

CHAPTER EIGHTCONCLUSION

In order to get a wider perspective of the data that has been dealt with, it is useful to compare it to murder rates from other countries.

Murder in Natal, 1992-1993 - Totals & Rate per 100 000

VICTIMS RACE	RURAL	URBAN	TOTAL
WHITE	(72) 16.2	(124) 16.6	(196) 16.5
NON-WHITE	(5759) 217.8	(4730) 460.6	(10489) 285.7
TOTAL	(5831) 188.8	(4854) 273.7	(10685) 219.8

Murder rate per 100 000⁴¹

Botswana	0.2	Columbia	49
Egypt	0.5	Zimbabwe	6.9
Brazil	14.8	Argentina	5.4
Canada	2.1	U.S.A.	8.9
France	1.1	Germany	1
U.K.	1.7	Japan	0.6

As can be seen from these figures Natal is an extremely violent area. The total rate of murder is far in excess of any other

⁴¹Gathered from United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1991
1992

country, and clearly shows that the situation that has been occurring in this society cannot be classified as anywhere near normal. It is only the white victim murder rate that is close to other countries, but even this is far higher than the industrialised nations.

The rates of murder that occur in Natal are more on the lines of a war type situation, rather than a normal society. Rates of this magnitude cannot be perceived within a normal framework, and thus problems do arise when using theories about murder that deal with rates that are ten times less than these.

The total number as well as the rate per 100 000 of the non-white murders is generally ten times higher than the white victim totals and rates and must be viewed in this light. The white murders are but a small part of the wider picture, but important nonetheless. The rate of white murders is high in relation to other societies, but very low in the context of South Africa. The intra-racial murders are more on a par with European societies, but it is the inter-racial murders that push this rate into double figures. The white population group are more at threat from outside their racial group, a situation that contradicts most studies on homicide. The non-white population however fits more into the usual pattern, with the majority of murders occurring inter-racially.

The pattern of white murders is symptomatic of the conditions that Natal, and the country as a whole is experiencing. High rates of deviance and crime, an unstable social, economic and political structure, and rapid social change all contribute to the breakdown of the usual patterns of behaviour. The non-white aggressor : white victim murders can be placed in part in the context of robbery-homicides. If the white victim murders had the same ratio of robbery-homicides that the non-white victim murders had then it would show that it is a general trend, however, due to the lack of data on causes of murders it is difficult to substantiate this argument.

Murder and violence are not entities that occur on their own. They are not behaviours that are purely individualistic, but the product of the structure and nature of the society. The stresses, pressures and opportunities within the society are central determinants in the creation of a high or low risk environment for violence to occur. The pattern of murder can be viewed in a similar manner to that of a jigsaw, wherein each individual piece is important for the completion of the picture, but on its own the individual piece cannot show what the picture is about, or how it affects the other pieces.

This murder jigsaw is interactive, with each factor directly or indirectly affecting the other. The factors for the creation of a high risk environment can occur in societies where there is low

levels of violence, but the factors will be operating in a slightly different manner, and thus affect the final result.

Natal's murders must be placed within the context of the racially divided society, and the political struggle that has been and is still occurring inside and outside the country. Violence in a country will affect the nature of a society and its social structure on both a macro and micro level. In the case of South Africa, the increase in fear, and protective measures is all too obvious. This in turn increases the cycle of the violence in the general society. A sub-culture of violence does not really exist, instead a culture of violence is encouraged and supported within the society. The actual physical violence can be seen to occur in certain groups with higher frequency, but those who are not in a high risk group are also part of the process of sustaining the violence. To analyse the murder trends in the context of a sub-culture, will be ignoring the effects that the other parts of the community play in the creation of the social environment where the violence occurs. The homicides may well be concentrated within a specific economic and social group, but to view these groups as divorced from the wider society is erroneous. They are part of the wider structure, and are affected by it as they in turn affect it.

The economic situation is also a factor to be considered. The white population is more economically powerful than the black

population. The racial divide matches to some extent the economic divide, thus one must not fall into the trap of viewing the murders from a purely racial perspective, but rather economic factors must also be considered as part of the wider picture.

Those people at the bottom of the economic ladder are more at risk from crime and violence, they cannot take the same precautions that the more wealthy are able to. This is true for the Natal situation, and the inwardly turned violence against the similarly economically deprived is clearly seen in the data. The relative economic deprivation that is prevalent in this country is a strong factor in the creation of a high risk environment for murder. Along with this intra-racial and intra-economic class violence, there is also a relatively high level of inter-racial murder, as is seen by the rates for the white victim: black aggressor murders. This again must be linked to the economic situation, and should be viewed in the context of economic crimes, rather than a purely racial or political motive. It is impossible to theorise about the economic conditions of the aggressor, as no data exists for them. It is also difficult to categorise robbery-homicides in an economic position when the apparent motive in many is to get firearms and thus places the act into a possible political category.

The economic situation that exists in the country is heavily based on the back of racial dogma and policy. Thus, one can say

that the murders are in part the result of racism as it is apartheid that is a major underlying factor in the creation of the present social system. The policies of the previous governments have determined the life chances of most in this country, the colour of ones skin has determined in some way the level of education, the employment opportunities as well as ones social and political power and stake in the social system. An underclass was created, within which a fertile ground for deviance and violence was developed. Deviance has in some ways become normative, and violence against the state or symbols of the state have been legitimated through links to the wider political struggle within the country. This violence on a political level will have a spill-over into the non-political, with violence being used to achieve more than just a political solution, but also a personal or economic one.

In this regard it is unfortunate that there are no figures available for the rates for black aggressor - coloured/Asian victim, as this would give some credence to the economic factors involved in the structure of the murder rates. The data also contains no information about the economic status of the victim or aggressor. It is only in the Central Statistical Service data that the victim's economic status is given, and from that one can try to make inferences about the aggressor.

If the black aggressor ; white victim murders are based on economic factors, rather than personal factors or "trivial" causes, will the murder rates drop if economic change occurs ? If the potential deviant is economically empowered and has a legitimate stake in the system, will they be less prone to use violence ? On the basis of this theory, that is what should happen, the reality however can only be guessed at. It will depend upon how entrenched the willingness to use violence as a means to an end and an end in itself is in the individual and wider communities.

For many in South Africa, violence or the threat of violence has been proved to be a successful means to achieve one's goals. For this to change the individual's internal control and value system will have to alter to accommodate new norm and value structures, which is a difficult task. Merely replacing or altering the physical structure of the society will not eradicate the internalised value systems of the individual or group. The altering of the physical environment will have an effect upon the individual's behaviour, but the more difficult process is the time that it will take to alter the individual's internal norm and value structure against the use of violence.

The role of firearms is a controversial and difficult area. It is difficult to determine whether or not a reduction in the number of weapons will reduce the murder rates. However, if the

statistics are examined it is obvious that firearms do play a major role in murder. But will a reduction in their number result in a reduction in the rates of general violence in the society - that in itself is very doubtful, as the firearm is merely a tool that is used in the process of violence. Its presence or absence will not have much of a direct bearing on the individual's beliefs towards the use of violence.

The large number of firearms in this country has apparently altered the modus operandi of robbery. It is increasingly likely that the intended victim of a robbery will be armed, and thus the aggressor's chance of escape is therefore reduced and their chance of being killed or injured is increased. Thus, it is apparently easier and safer for the aggressor to kill their victim either before or after robbing them in order to safeguard their own lives. In this situation the presence of a firearm will increase the level of violence. But it is the presence, or suspected presence of a firearm in the victims possession, not the aggressor's possession that alters the chance of death occurring.

If restrictions are placed upon firearms, the problem arises in that it is apparently relatively easy to obtain or make a firearm. The law would take away the firearms from those who could well be more likely to be victim's than aggressor's in the case of murder-robbery. But, the threat of a deadly response by

the victim is reduced, and thus the need for deadly violence to be used by the aggressor if robbing the victim will be eliminated or at least drastically reduced. Also in this regard the willingness of the victim to respond aggressively will be reduced, as can be seen from the work of Kleck G. and McElrath K. (1991).

The levels of aggression within a society cannot be changed quickly or easily, as they are usually an integral part of that society's or community's culture. In order to change that, almost the entire culture would have to be changed, which is wishful thinking, especially with the levels of aggression that are present in almost all sectors of the South African society. What can be altered though is the means available to carry out the acts of deviant behaviour, if these can be reduced in the level of lethality then the number of deaths should fall. The tools available to carry out the violence go a long way in the determination of whether or not an attack will have a high fatality risk or not. Firearms are more deadly than other weapons, such as knives, but this is not to say that deaths are not incurred through the use of knives, it is just a lot easier to use a gun than a knife due to the lack of physical strength needed, and there is no need to get within an arms length of the victim, and there is a higher risk of fatality with a firearm than with a knife if used.

The jigsaw that makes up the social situation for the creation of a high or low risk situation is based deeply within the structure of the community and the collective consciousness of that community. In Natal the political violence has long played a part in the influencing how individuals view themselves and others in the society. The white population are influenced by the violence that is prevalent in the black communities. There is a "spill over" into the physical environment of the white communities. The white population are not only direct victims of this black violence, but also in the residual affects of the violence. A climate of fear and aggression, and the legitimation of the use of violence against threats, both real and perceived has arisen in the white community.

It is difficult to determine what the individual's personal values and controls are in regard to violence. The use of violence has been internalised by many, and to change this would take more than a change in legislation, government policies or individual opportunities.

Changes in the physical environment in relation to economic factors, coping mechanisms, access to weapons, community structure, education, etc will affect in part the internal value system of the individual. Stresses will hopefully be reduced, or at least changed, but the internal value systems and beliefs about the use of violence will take more to alter. The entire

socialization process will have to be altered. The physical changes should result in some decrease in murder, but certainly not a drop to the levels of Europe. The support for the use of violence is too entrenched within the social system to be radically altered in a short space of time.

If the economic and educational opportunities increase, as well as a reduction in deadly weapons that are available there should be a decrease in the levels of murder. But this does not mean that the individual will change their perception of violence as a legitimate means to an end. To change the communities, or the individual's attitude towards personal violence will take a lot longer, and have to come through the process of socialisation.

It is doubtful that violence will decrease in South Africa to any great extent in the next generation. The use and legitimation of violence has been internalised. A generation has been taught that violence is at times the only path available of achieving goals. The rates of murder will hopefully decrease with an increase in political stability and greater distribution of economic wealth. These will have long term affects upon the social situation of the individual, but will not affect their personal value structure and behaviours towards violence.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aitchison J.J.W. Interpreting Violence: The Struggle to Understand the Natal Conflict 1990
University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg
- Athens L.H. The Creation of Dangerous Violent Criminals 1989, Routledge, London
- Bailey W.C. and "Murder and Capital Punishment: A monthly
Peterson R.D. Time-Series Analysis Of Execution
Publicity."
American Sociological Review 54 : 1989
- Balkwell J.W. "Ethnic Inequality and the rate of Homicide"
Social Forces Sept 1990
- Bekker S (ed) Capturing The Event: Conflict Trends in the Natal Region 1986-1992 1992, Indicator South Africa, Durban.
- Blau J.R. and "The Cost of Inequality:Metropolitan
Blau P.M. Structure and Violent Crime."
American Sociological Review 47;1982

- Bridges G.S. and Weis J.G. Measuring Violent Behaviour
in Weiner N.A. and Wolfgang M.E. op cit
- Bryne J.M. "Cities, Citizens and Crime. The Ecological /
Nonecological Debate Reconsidered."
in Bryne and Sampson op cit
- Bryne J.M. and The Social Ecology of Crime
Sampson R.J. (ed) 1986, Springer, Berlin
- Burchell J. and Principles of Criminal Law
Milton J. 1991, Juta, Cape Town
- Centre for the Analysis and Moord 1993, South African
Interpretation of Crime Police
Information
- Central Statistical Service Report number 02-85-07
Central Statistical Service,
1986, Pretoria
- Central Statistical Service Report number 03-01-08
Central Statistical Service,
1991, Pretoria

Central Statistical Service Report number 03-09-01
Central Statistical Service,
1983, Pretoria

Central Statistical Service Report number 03-09-01
Central Statistical Service,
1984, Pretoria

Central Statistical Service Report number 03-09-01
Central Statistical Service,
1985, Pretoria

Central Statistical Service Report number 03-09-01
Central Statistical Service,
1986, Pretoria

Central Statistical Service Report number 03-09-01
Central Statistical Service,
1987, Pretoria

Central Statistical Service Report number 03-09-01
Central Statistical Service,
1988, Pretoria

- Central Statistical Service Report number 03-09-01
Central Statistical Service,
1989, Pretoria
- Central Statistical Service Report number 03-09-01
Central Statistical Service,
1990, Pretoria
- Cohen L.E. and Machalek R. "A General Theory of Expropriative Crime: An Evolutionary Ecological Approach."
American Journal of Sociology Vol 94, No 3,
1988
- Collins J.J. Alcohol and Interpersonal Violence 1989
in Weiner and Wolfgang op cit
- Collins J.J. (ed) Drinking and Crime
1982, Tavistock, London
- Crutchfield R.D. "Labour Stratification and Violent Crime."
Social Forces 68:2 1989
- Curtis L.A. Violence, Race and Culture
1975, Lexington Books, Lexington Mass.

- Gartner R. "The Victims of Homicide: A Temporal and Cross-National Comparison."
American Sociological Review 55 : 1990
- Grove D. The Crime Perception of the Venda
1980, University of the North, Pietersburg.
- Greenberg S.W. "Fear and its Relationship to Crime, Neighbourhood Deterioration and Informal Social Control." in Byrne and Sampson op cit
- Hansmann H.B. and Quigley J.M. "Population Heterogeneity and the Sociogenesis of Homicide."
Social Forces 61:1 1982
- Harries K.D. Serious Violence : Patterns of Homicide and Assault in America
1990, Charles C. Thomas, Springfield Ill USA
- Hoffmann W. and McKendrick B.W. "The Nature of Violence"
in McKendrick and Hoffmann op cit
- Holinger P.C. Violent Deaths in the United States 1987
Guilford, New York

- Huff-Corzine L., "Deadly Connections: Culture, Poverty and
Corzine J. and the Direction of Lethal violence"
Moore D.C. Social Forces 69:3 March 1991
- Human Rights Commission Human Rights Review, South Africa 1993
Human Rights Commission, 1994,
Braamfontein
- Kleck G. and "The Effects of weaponry on Human Violence"
McElrath K. Social Forces 69:3 1991
- Lawerence G.A. Epidemology of Stab Fatalities in Cape Town
Carnegie Conference Paper No. 185, 1984
- Louw A. "Conflict Trends in Natal" Indicator S.A. 9 (3)
- McClain P.D. "Urban Neighbourhoods, Black Residents, and
Homicide Risk."
Urban Geography 5,3; 1983
- McKendrick B. and People and Violence in South Africa
Hoffmann W. (ed) 1990, Oxford Univ. Press, Cape Town.

- Messner S.F. "Societal Development, Social Equality and Homicide: A Cross-National Test of a Durkheimian Model."
Social Forces 61:1 1982
- Messner S.F. "The Sex Ratio, Family disruption, and the
Sampson R.J. Rates of Violent Crime: The Paradox of Demographic Structure."
Social Forces 69:3 March 1991:
- Midgley J. Crime and Normlessness: Anomie in an Urban South African Community
in Midgley, Steyn, and Graser op cit
- Midgley J., Steyn J.H. and Crime and Punishment in South Africa
Graser R. (ed) 1975, McGraw Hill, Johannesburg
- Minnaar A. (ed) Patterns of Violence: Case Studies of Conflict in Natal 1992, Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria.
- Olivier L. "Family Murder as a Socio-Psychological Phenomenon in R.S.A."
South African Journal of Sociology 19,3; 1988

- Peterson M.A., Who Commits Crimes 1981
- Braiker H.B. and Oelgeschlager, Gunn and Han,
Polich S.M. Cambridge, Mass.
- Rosenberg M.L. "Assaultive Violence" in Rosenberg M.L. and
Fenley M.A. op cit
- Rosenberg M.L. Violence in America 1991, Oxford U.P., Oxford
and Fenley M.A.
- Rosenfeld R. "Urban Crime Rates: Effect of Inequality,
Welfare Dependency, Region and Race."
in Byrne and Sampson 1986.
- Sampson R.J. "Urban Black Violence: The Effects of Male
Joblessness and Family Disruption".
American Journal of Sociology 93:2 1987
- Sampson R.J. and "Community Structure and Crime: Testing
Groves W.B. Social-Disorganization Theory."
American Journal of Sociology 94:4 1989
- Selosse J. Statistical Aspects of Violent Crime
in Collected Studies in Criminological Research
vol XI, Council of Europe 1974, Strasbourg.

- Sloth-Nielsen J. "Legal Violence: corporal and capital punishment."
in McKendrick and Hoffman op cit
- Smith K. and "Fear of Crime among the South African
Glanz L. Public"
South African Journal of Sociology 1989, 20(1)
- Steffensmier D.J., "Age and the Distribution of Crime"
Allal E.A., Harer M.D. American Journal of Sociology
and Streifel C. vol. 94,4 1989
- Straker G. Faces in the Revolution 1992, David Philip,
Cape Town, R.S.A.
- Svalastoga K. On Deadly Violence
1982, Universitetsforloget, Oslo
- United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1991 1992, United
Nations, New York
- van der Westhuizen J. (ed) Crimes of Violence in South
Africa 1982, University of South
Africa, Pretoria.

- Weiner N.A. and Violent Crimes, Violent Criminals
Wolfgang M.E. (ed) 1989, Sage, Newbury Park, California
- Williams K.R. "The Social Production of Criminal
and Flewelling R.L. Homicide" American Sociological Review
53:3 1988
- Wolfgang M.E. Patterns of Criminal Homicide 1958,
Patterson Smith, Montclair, N.J.
- Wolfgang M.E. Crime And Race 1970
and Cohen B. Institute of Human Relations Press, New
York.
- Young R.L. "Perceptions of Crime, Racial Attitudes and
Firearms Ownership" Social Forces 64:2 1985